00097927

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016

# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

# A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiſcovered at*

## PARIS;

97927

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Conſtantinople of the moſt Remarkable Tranſactions of Europe, and diſcovering ſeveral Intrigues and Secrets of the Chriſtian Courts, (eſpecially of that of France) continued from the Year 1645 to the Year 1682.

*Written originally in Arabic, Tranſlated into Italian, and from thence into Engliſh.*

N N. 4. 2

VOLUME THIRD.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR VERNOR & HOOD, J. CUTHELL, OGILVY & SON, LACKINGTON, ALLEN, & CO. J. WALKER, J. NUNN, R. LEA, AND OTRIDGE & SON.

*By Mundell & Son, Edinburgh.*

1801.

00097927

# TO THE READER.

OUR Arabian having met with ſo kind entertainment in this nation, ſince he put on the Engliſh dreſs, is reſolved to continue his garb, and viſit you as often as convenience will permit.

He brings along with him many foreign commodities, to gratify the various expectations of people; his cargo, conſiſting of jewels and other rarities, which are the genuine product of the Eaſt, and ſome kinds of merchandiſe, which he has purchaſed here in the Weſt during his reſidence at Paris.

It will be pity to affront this honeſt ſtranger, by raiſing ſcandals on him, as if he were a counterfeit, and I know not what; this will appear inhoſpitable, and unworthy of the Engliſh candour and generoſity.

To ſpeak without an allegory, in this third volume of Letters, as in the former two, you will find an exact continuation of modern hiſtory, acquainting you with all the memorable ſieges, battles, and campaigns, that were in Europe, from the year 1645 to 1649; as alſo, with all the remarkable negotiations and tranſactions of ſtate, embaſſies, leagues, and overtures of princes; the policies and intrigues of public miniſters, eſpecially thoſe of Cardinal Mazarini; the great and ſtupendous revolutions and

civil wars in England, China, Naples, Turkey, and Paris; the prodigious riſe of a poor young beardleſs fiſherman to the height of ſovereign power; the diſmal tragedies of an Engliſh king, and Chineſe emperor; with the murder of a Turkiſh ſultan; and all theſe intermixed with proper and uſeful remarks, pleaſant and agreeable ſtories, couched in a ſtyle, which being peculiar to the Arabians, cannot be matched in any other writings that are extant.

If his philoſophy will not abide the teſt of our learned virtuoſi, yet it may paſs muſter in a Mahometan, ſince it is taken for granted, that the men of that faith rarely apply themſelves to ſuch ſtudies, or at leaſt not in the method uſed in Chriſtian ſchools; they may have the ſame ideas of natural things as we, but they expreſs themſelves in a different manner.

As for his morals, they are ſolid and grave, and ſuch as could not be reprehended even in a Chriſtian writer, if we reduce what he ſays to univerſals; for, abſtracting from the particular obligations he had to his native religion, and to the Grand Signior, whoſe ſlave he was, there will be found little difference between his ethics and ours; he every where recommends loyalty, juſtice, fortitude, temperance, prudence, and all thoſe other virtues which are requiſite to fill up the character of a hero or a ſaint.

And who will not bear with him for patroniſing the religion and intereſt in which he was bred? it being natural for all men to adhere to the notions they have ſucked in with their mother's milk. In this alſo he ſhows great moderation, and a more un-

biaſſed temper than one would expect from a Turk, which may in part be aſcribed to his ſtudying in the Chriſtian academies, his converſation with the learnedeſt men in Paris, and ſome of the moſt accompliſhed perſons in the world. Hence it was that he was accuſed by his ſuperiors at the Ottoman Porte, of inclining to Chriſtianity or atheiſm; as he takes notice, in his apology to a religious dignitary, in the firſt letter of the third book of this volume, page 182, to which the reader is referred for farther ſatisfaction.

In his moſt familiar letters, ſuch as this laſt mentioned, and others to his intimate friends, you will find ſome expreſſions, diſcovering a certain fineneſs and ſtrength of thought, which is not very common in Chriſtian writers; which is an argument that the Mahometans are not all ſuch blockheads as we take them for.

And though his picture, which we have affixed to our tranſlation, ſince we had the Italian tomes, repreſents no extraordinary perſon, yet you know Juvenal's remark, "Fronti nulla fides." And it has been a common obſervation of one of the greateſt philoſophers in this age, "That by his outward aſpect, no man would gueſs what an illuſtrious ſoul lodged within."

If you would know how the Italian came by this picture (for in his preface he aſſerts it to be the true effigies of this Arabian), he ſays, that being acquainted with the ſecretary of Cardinal Mazarini, and frequenting his houſe, he ſaw a picture hang in his cloſet, with this inſcription at the bottom: TI-

TUS DE MOLDAVIA, CLERICUS. Ætatis ſuæ LXXII. He aſked the gentleman who this Titus was, who informed him, that he was a great traveller, and underſtood many languages, eſpecially the Sclavonian, Greek, and Arabic, on which account Cardinal Richlieu, and his ſucceſſor Mazarini, had made great uſe of him; and that the latter had cauſed that picture of the Moldavian to be drawn and hung up in his cloſet, from whence he had it. Our Italian being ſatisfied, after ſome diſcourſe about him, that this ſtranger was the very Arabian whoſe writings he had ſo happily found, got leave of the gentleman to have a draught of the picture taken by a ſkilful limner, which he afterwards placed in the front of his tranſlation.

There is one of theſe letters, page 218, wants a beginning in the Italian copy, which the author of that tranſlation takes notice of in his preface, ſaying, that by ſome accident or other, the Arabic paper had been torn aſunder, and one part was miſſing.

There needs no more to be ſaid, but to acquaint the reader that we are going forward with the Engliſh tranſlation of theſe letters as faſt as we can; ſo that in all probability you may expect a fourth volume before Chriſtmas, wherein you will find more particular remarks on our Engliſh affairs, with political diſcourſes on the original and diſſolution of governments; as alſo many curious paſſages during the wars of Paris, which have not hitherto come to public view. In fine, you will there be informed of all the remarkable events that happened at that time, either in peace or war, on the whole globe. Adieu.

# CONTENTS.

## VOL. III.

## BOOK I.


LETTER Page

I. MAHMUT an Arabian at Paris, to Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna, - - - 1

He exhorts him to be prepared for the worſt events; to ſtand upon his guard againſt the Chriſtians; but, above all, to beware of himſelf: he tells him a ſtory of Carcoa, Nathan's predeceſſor.

II. To the Kaimacham, - - - - 5

Of the Tranſylvanian agent's buſineſs at the French court; of Monſieur Croiſſy's negociation with Prince Ragotſki; the ſpeech of Prince Ragotſki's ſon.

III. To the inſtructed in all knowledge, the Venerable Muſti, 9

He makes a compariſon between the Chriſtians and Mahometans; prefers the devotion and charity of the latter; and relates a pleaſant paſſage of a Chriſtian that whipped himſelf.

IV. To Muſtapha, Berber Aga, - - - 11

Of the battle of Mergentheim, between the Germans and the French; the unfortunate adventure of a French officer.

V. To Shaſhim Iſthan, a Black Eunuch, - 14

He pardons the ſcandals caſt upon him by the Eunuch; commends his apology; adviſes him to ſet a [illegible] on his tongue; and relates an adventure of a lady-body.

LETTER Page

VI. To Zelim of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley, - 16
He acquaints him with the execution of three witches at Naples, who were hired to deſtroy him by enchantments.

VII. To the Invincible Viſier Azem, - - 21
He compares France to the four great monarchies; relates the battle of Allerſheim, and the progreſs of the French arms.

VIII. To Cara Hali, a Phyſician at Conſtantinople, - 25
Of a blind man who diſtinguiſhed colours by his touch; of another who carved to the life; of the Mute Saqueda; and of a deaf man who apprehended one's words by the motion of the lip.

IX. To Uſeph, Baſſa, - - - 28
He congratulates his new dignity; informs him of the diſſolution of the diet of Frankfort, and of the King of Poland's deſiring the Queen of Swedeland in marriage.

X. To Ichingi Cap' Oglani, Preceptor to the Royal Pages of the Seraglio, - - - 32
He expoſtulates with him concerning his calumnies.

XI. To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of State, 33
Of the taking of Canea, and the policy of Sultan Ibrahim.

XII. To the Magnificent and Redoubtable Viſier Azem, 35
Of the Duke of Enguien's return to Paris; Mahmut extols the hardineſs of the Ottoman generals; he relates a private amour of Cardinal Mazarini.

XIII. To Egri Boinou, a White Eunuch, - 41
He thanks him for his intelligence of what is practiſed against him in the Seraglio.

XIV. To Muſtapha, Berber Aga, - - 42
Of the Elector of Saxony's falling in love with a Swediſh lady in armour; and of the odd kind of articles agreed on between him and General Koningſmark, by that means.

XV. To Muhammed, Hodgia, Derviſe, Eremit, Inhabitant of the Sacred Cave, at the Foot of Mount Uriel, in Arabia the Happy, - - 48

LETTER Page

He extols his abſtinence, and the happineſs of a retired life; rehearſes the bleſſing which the angel pronounced on that cave.

XVI. To Uſeph, Baſſa, - - 51

He acquaints him with the marriage of Uladiſlaus, King of Poland, with Louiſe Marie de Gonzague, Princeſs of Mantua.

XVII. To the Kaimacham, - - 52

He relates the ſucceſs of the French arms in Flanders, Catalonia, and Italy, that year; with an adventure that happened to the Duke of Orleans, in his camp before Bourburgh.

XVIII. To Dghet Oglou, - - 56

He entertains him with a familiar diſcourſe of his ſickneſs, and of the mind's tranquillity; telling him a ſtory of a man whoſe brains were turned to a neſt of ſerpents.

XIX. To the Selictar Aga, or Sword-Bearer to his Highneſs, 60

He reproaches the Europeans with their rebellions, and other inhumanities; of the aſſemblies at Munſter and Oſnaburgh; of a private treaty between Spain and Holland.

XX. To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire, - - - 64

Of the mighty fleet the French are fitting out to ſea; of the predictions and adventure of an old prophet, who went to Cardinal Mazarini; of Monſieur Chanut, the French ambaſſador in Swedeland.

XXI. To William Voſpel, a Recluſe in Auſtria, - 67

He adviſes him to turn hermit, for the ſake of ſilence and contemplation.

XXII. To the Captain Baſſa, - - 69

Of the preparations the Europeans were making to aſſiſt the ſtate of Venice; he tells him what the Chriſtians ſay of him.

XXIII. To Adonai, a Jew, at Venice, - 71

He deſires him to ſend ſome remarks on the people he has ſeen in his travels; a ſhort character of Italy, with ſome reflections on the Goths and Vandals.

LETTER Page

XXIV. To Muſtapha, Berber Aga, - - 72
Of the preſent war of Candy; a memorable ſaying of the Duke of Orleans, at the ſurrender of Graveling, with a generous action of that prince.

XXV. To Naſſuff, Baſſa of Natolia, - 75
He congratulates his new honour, puts him in mind of his nameſake's fate, in the reign of Achmet II. and gives him many good counſels.

XXVI. To the Kaimacham, - - 78
Touching Moroſini's quitting the port of Canea to the Turks.

XXVII. To Cara Hali, a Phyſician at Conſtantinople, 80
Some remarks on the ſpring, and on the difference between living at Conſtantinople and Paris; the queſt of the French philoſophers.

XXVIII. To the Teſterdar, or Lord-Treaſurer, - 82
Of the French deſigns by ſea, and other matters.

XXIX. To Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna, - - 83
He applauds his reſolution, not to take religion on truſt, but to inquire into the grounds; and ſends him an abſtract of the muſſulman hiſtory.

XXX. To the ſame, - - - - 86
He exhorts him not to let intereſt biaſs him in the choice of his religion; of the Duke of Brandenburgh's demanding the Queen of Sweden in marriage.

XXXI. To the Kaimacham, - - - 87
Of a private league between the Venetians and the Baſſa of Aleppo, diſcovered by Adonai the Jew; ſeveral inſtances of that Baſſa's juſtice.

## BOOK II.

LETTER Page

I. To the Moſt Magnificent and Illuſtrious Viſier Azem, at the Porte, - - - 90
Mahmut's project to divert Cardinal Mazarini, from attempting againſt the Ottoman Empire.

II. To [illegible] Maura Farnea, a White Eunuch, - 100
He condoles the misfortune of Egri Bolnou, whoſe eyes were put out by the Grand Signior's command.

LETTER Page

III. To Dgnet Oglou, - - 102
He diſcourſes more frankly to him on the ſame ſubject.

IV. To Dicheu Huſſein, Baſſa, - - 104
Of the early campaigns the French made that year; the hardineſs of a French officer.

V. To Kerker Haſſan, Baſſa, - - 105
He thanks him for his preſent of coffee; compares part of Arabia with the fields of Tempe; concerning his father's hunting of lions, tigers, &c.

VI. To Huſſein, Baſſa, - - 107
Remarks on the taking of Retimo in Candy; a character of Monſieur Varennes, the French Ambaſſador at the Porte.

VII. To the ſame, - - - 109
Remarks on the nature of the French, and their method of obtaining victories.

VIII. To the Venerable Muſti, Sovereign Guide of the True Believers, - - - 111
Touching the books of the ancient Pagans; certain memorable paſſages of Alexander the Great.

IX. To Murat, Baſſa, - - 118
Of the taking of Courtray by the French; of the want of rain, and ſcarcity of proviſions at Paris.

X. To the Aga of the Janizaries, - - 119
Of the benefit of reading hiſtories, and the ill conſequences of printing in Europe.

XI. To the ſame, - - - 122
Of Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and of Queen Chriſtina his daughter; remarks on Queen Elizabeth.

XII. To the Selictar Aga, or Sword-Bearer to the Grand Signior, - - - 127
Of the Duke of Orleans's return to Paris, after he had taken Mardyke; of the diet of the French.

XIII. To Abubechir Hali, Merchant at Aleppo, - 129
He exhorts him not to grieve for the loſs of one of his wives, who ran away with his ſlave; relates a ſtory of an Italian Lord.

XIV. To Solyman, his Couſin, - 131
He reproves him for deſerting the public aſſemblies of the faithful, and following of ſchiſmatics.

LETTER Page

XV. To Hafnadar Baffy, Chief Treafurer to the Grand Signior, - - - 132
Of the Duke of Enguien's triumphant entering into Paris, after the taking of Dunkirk.

XVI. To Ibrahim Hall Cheik, a Man of the Law, - 134
Touching the fuppreffion of brothel-houfes in Paris.

XVII. To Muftapha, Baffa of Silifiria, - 136
He attributes the lofs of Afac, to the valour of the Muſcovites; a character of that people, with the manner of the Czar's fucceffion in former times.

XVIII. To Solyman, Kyzlar Aga, Chief of the Black Eunuchs, - - - 139
He acquaints him with the death of the Prince of Conde; the character of that prince, with a brief account of his life.

XIX. To the Kaimacham, - - 141
Of the Count d'Harcourt's difgrace, in decamping from before Lerida; the fucceſs of the French arms in Italy; of a ſtrange fountain in the Iſle of Elbe.

XX. To Bajazet, Baffa of Greece, - 142
He acquaints him with his ſuſpicion of ſome deep deſigns in the French court; of a fellow who raiſed a ſedition in Paris.

XXI. To Peſteli Hali, his Brother, - - 146
He thanks him for the journal of his travels; congratulates his eſcape from male and female thieves; tells him a ſtory of the Mogul's father; and another of a merchant's widow in the Indies; with other diſcourſes of that nature.

XXII. To Afis, Baffa, - - - 155
Of a quarrel between Monſieur Chanut, the French Ambaſſador at Stockholm, and the Swediſh Secretary of State; the repartee of a French Ambaſſador to the King of Spain.

XXIII. To the Mufti, Moſt Venerable, and worthy of all Honour, - - - 158
A compariſon of the three miniſters of ſtate, Ximenes, Richlieu, and Mazarini.

XXIV. To Ebnecmar Kefrou, Kadileſquier of Romania, 162

LETTER Page

Of the perfidy of the Scots, in selling King Charles I. to the Engliſh Parliament; a ſtory of Biſhop Hatto.

XXV. To Regel Hamet, Antiquary to the Sultan, - 167

Remarks on old magical ſtatues and images; of the Palladium and Ancilla; of the true name of the city of Rome.

XXVI. To the Viſier Azem, - - 169

Mahmut acquaints him with his return from Orleans; the reaſon of the great conflux of ſtrangers to that city.

XXVII. To the Aga of the Janizaries, - - 171

Of Joan d'Acre, the maid of Orleans.

XXVIII. To Dgnet Oglou, - - 174

Of Eliachim's falling in love with a French lady on the road, as he accompanied Mahmut to Orleans.

XXIX. To the Captain Baſſa, - - 179

Of the bold propoſal which a ſea captain made to Cardinal Mazarini; and of a magnificent ſhip which Queen Chriſtina preſented to this miniſter.

## BOOK III.

LETTER Page

I. To Bedredin, Superior of the Convent of Derviſes, at Cogni in Natolia, - - 181

He makes an apology for his faith againſt ſuch as ſlandered him; of a hermit then living near Paris, who had almoſt doubled the years of [illegible].

II. To Murat, Baſſa, - - 186

Of the Chriſtians joy for their victory by ſea and land; a compariſon between Sultan Ibrahim, and Sultan Amurath.

III. To Mahomet Tecli, Baſſa of Boſnia, at his Camp in Dalmatia, - - - 188

He reproaches him with cowardice, in decamping from before Sebenico.

IV. To Achm Beig, - - 190

H[illegible] of an attempt to murder Queen Chriſtina in her chapel.

LETTER Page

V. To Cara Hali, a Phyſician at Conſtantinople, - 193
He diſcourſes of the manna in Calabria, ſome of which he ſends him.

VI. To Kerker Haſſan, Baſſa, - - 197
Of the revolution in China.

VII. To Darniſh Mehemet, Baſſa, - - 203
Of Maſſaniello, and the revolution in Naples.

VIII. To Solyman, his Couſin, - - 207
He again reprehends his manner of life, and perſuades him, by the example of his grandfather, to obſerve the laws of purity.

IX. To the Kaimacham, - - 211
Of the cruelty executed by the Turkiſh general on a Chriſtian prieſt; of the veneration the ancient Mahometans paid to Scanderbeg's bones; of Porſenna's generoſity.

X. To the Mufti, - - - 214
Remarks on the Spaniſh misfortunes, the inſurrection in Sicily, and particularly on the revolution in Naples; he prays him to furniſh Nathan Ben Saddi with religious books.

XI. [This letter wants the title and beginning], - 218
Of the Chriſtians revenge on the ſon of Ali Sangiac, Bey of Lippa, for the ſufferings of the Chriſtian prieſt; the extravagant revenge of an Italian captain.

XII. To the Venerable Mufti, - - 220
Of Cardinal Mazarini's ſupporting the tumults in Naples; remarks on the Duke of Guiſe's attempt to ſuccour the revolted; a deſcription of the extent and riches of that kingdom.

XIII. To Abdel Melec Muli Omar, Superintendant of the College of Sciences at Fez, - 225
He diſcourſes about the duration of the world; the viſion of Omar, ſucceſſor of Mahomet; of Adam's firſt wife Alileth; that the earth was inhabited for many ages before Adam.

XIV. To the Mufti, - - - 231
He relates to him the tragedy of the Sicilian veſpers; of a woman and her daughter, that were immured ſeventeen years by a ſcribe in Naples.

LETTER Page

XV. To the Kaimacham, - - 234

He informs him what reaſon he has to be jealous of Cardinal Mazarini's deſigns againſt the Ottoman Empire; Oſmin the dwarf's dexterity in prying into the Cardinal's ſecrets, and thoſe of the grandees.

XVI. To Peſteli Hali, his Brother, - 238

He farther commends his journal; a rare example of Indian charity; of the ingenuity of the Chineſe; of the conqueſt of that kingdom by the Tartars; he diſcourſes of the original of nations, and the unmixed blood of the Arabians and Tartars; of a gun at Pequin two thouſand years old.

XVII. To the Aga of the Janizaries, - 243

Of the famous victory of the French obtained at the battle of Lens; of the tumults at Paris, and the King of France's ſpeech to the ſenators; Mahmut informs him how he employs certain agents to foment the public ſedition.

XVIII. To Achmet Beig, - - 247

He acquaints him with the death of Uladiſlaus, King of Poland, for which the court of France was in mourning; as alſo with the Duke of Bavaria's death; of the French campaigns in Flanders; of a ſea-fight between the French and Spaniards; of a formidable conſpiracy againſt the Czar of Muſcovy.

XIX. To the Mufti, - - 249

He ſeems to approve of Sultan Ibrahim's being depoſed, &c.; cenſures his attempt on Sultan Amurath's widow, and his rape of the Mufti's daughter; the continence of the African Scipio; the ſtratagem of Athenodorus the philoſopher; he incites the Mufti to encourage the tranſlation of Greek and Latin hiſtorians.

XX. To Chiurgi Muhammel, Baſſa, - - 252

Of the concluſion of the peace of Munſter; of the troubles of Paris, and the Duke of Beaufort's eſcape out of the Caſtle of the Wood of Vincennes.

XXI. To Dgnet Oglou, - - 254

He complains of the unjuſt proceedings of the compirators againſt Sultan Ibrahim; refuſes to defam[illegible] if-

LETTER Page
ter his death; owns that he did but diſſemble in his laſt letter to the Mufti; of the ſtatue of a famous wreſtler, which fell down and cruſhed to death a man that through envy went to demoliſh it; of the motto on Plato's ring.
XXII. To Daneemar Kefrou, Kadileſquier of Romania, 256
Remarks on the murder of the Engliſh King, Charles I. and what Cardinal Mazarini ſaid when he firſt heard of the news of that horrid tragedy; of Machiavel's corrupt principles.

# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

# A SPY AT PARIS.

## BOOK I.

### LETTER I.—MAHMUT, *an Arabian at Paris, to* NATHAN BEN SADDI, *a Jew at Vienna.*

I BELEIVE the news of my impriſonment might fill thee with doubts of thy own liberty, and make thee careful to avoid, at Vienna, ſuch a misfortune as befel me at Paris; yet if thou wert much ſurpriſed at this accident, it is an argument that thou art but a novice in the world, and art yet to learn the firſt rudiments of uſeful wiſdom, which teach us "that there is no ſtedfaſtneſs in human affairs."

There has nothing happened to me in this which I was not before provided for; neither did the ſuddenneſs of the event make me change countenance. I ſmiled at the fulfilling my own preſages, and went to priſon as unconcerned as I would have gone home to my lodging: not that I would have thee think I was inſenſible of a loſs ſo afflicting as that of liberty; but my [illegible]ins did

not appear so very formidable, having made them familiar to my thoughts long before.

When I first came to Paris, I looked on myself but as a prisoner at large, owing the freedom I had to walk about only to the carelessness of the state and the favour of destiny; so that when that indulgence was retrenched, no new thing happened to me. What I had expected for seven years together, could not seem strange when it came to pass.

By what I have said, thou mayest learn to prepare thyself for the worst events, which commonly steal upon the secure and unthinking, being wrapped up in greater darkness and silence than the moments which bring them to light. These slide away without our advertisement, unseen, unheard: neither can our watches or dials inform us any thing of them till they are passed; so there is no index to point out to us the hidden decrees of fate till they are accomplished; no ephemeris of destiny, but our own experience.

Thou, and all thy nation, are suspected by the Christians; they esteem you enemies of their interest as well as of their law. They despise and vilify you, calling you "the accursed of God;" yet they admit you as members of their commonwealth; they receive you to the protection of their laws, and entrust you with their secrets, that they may serve themselves of your money. Thus are you become bankers for your sworn enemies; and while you profess an eternal obedience to the injunctions of Moses, you make underhand leagues with the disciples of Jesus. I do not accuse your commerce with these infidels; but I say you have reason to be upon your guard when you are environed with so many millions of enemies. They are not ignorant of the intimacies between the ministers of the Sublime Porte and those of

thy nation: It is common in the mouths of the French, that the Jews are the Turks intelligencers. Thou oughteſt therefore to have a ſpecial regard to thy conduct, that no imprudent action may expoſe thee to the jealouſy of the ſtate where thou reſideſt. That court is full of eyes; and thou haſt need of a ſtricter veil than what thou wearеſt in the ſynagogue. The very walls of thy houſe will betray thee, and thy domeſtics may prove thy greateſt enemies; yet ſuſpect none more than thyſelf. This will not ſeem harſh counſel, if thou reflecteſt twice on it, there being nothing more certain, than that it is not ſo eaſy to defend one's ſelf from him in whom we confide, as from one we are jealous of; and every man is apt to put too much truſt in himſelf. I believe thou art faithful, and abhorreſt treachery; yet, at the ſame time, thou mayeſt be remiſs and weak. What could not be extorted from thee by an open enemy, may be diſcovered by the inſinuations of a pretended friend. Thy own good nature may cajole thee; and therefore it will be no ſmall point of wiſdom "to beware of thyſelf." As for contingencies, I adviſe thee not to be perplexed about them, or be uneaſy. Thou canſt not avoid the inevitable appointments of Heaven; only be ready for the worſt that may happen, ſince thou canſt never be certain of any thing.

Thy predeceſſor Carcoa was a man of exquiſite forecaſt, always on his watch, prying into the dark orb of futurities; yet an accident ſurpriſed him once, of which his ſtricteſt caution never gave him warning. I read it in one of his letters to the Kaimacham, which thou ſenteſt me from Vienna. The ſtory is this: As he was one day writing diſpatches to the Porte, a certain tame bird which he kept for his divertiſement, ſnatched from the table the paper on which he was writing to the ſeve-

dar, and the window being open, flies with it out into the ſtreets. The paper was dropped in the garden of the Auguſtin friars at the very moment when the Spaniſh ambaſſador was walking there with the general of that order. It is true, the letter was unfiniſhed, no name ſubſcribed, and ſo Carcoa eſcaped an imminent hazard of his life; but the ſecrets therein contained gave a vaſt ſuſpicion to the Imperial Court, it being ſoon carried to the principal ſecretary of ſtate, and by him communicated to the emperor and divan. Strict inquiſition was made throughout the city for the author of that letter; a reward of a thouſand rixdollars promiſed to any that would diſcover him. The bird was ſeen by many to fly along with a paper in her bill, but from whence ſhe came none knew, nor had any curious eye attended her uncertain motions back; no man divining, that that paper was deſigned to tranſmit to the ever-happy Porte, the moſt important counſels of the German empire. Neither was Carcoa's hand taken notice of, having lived very privately, and uſed another character in his common dealings; but how near was he to a diſcovery, when he ſays himſelf in his letter, that he wanted but five words to the concluſion, where he would have ſubſcribed his name! From hence thou mayeſt learn, that a mariner in a tempeſt, amongſt rocks and ſands, runs not greater hazards than he who acts in thy ſtation.

However, thou mayeſt now continue thy advices to Paris, but obſerve the directions of Eliachim, who brings thee this letter. He will inform thee of whatſoever is neceſſary for thee to know, taking this journey on purpoſe to prevent the wakeful jealouſy and active inquiſition of Cardinal Mazarini, from whom nothing can be hid that is truſted to the poſts. Receive him with ſingular honour; he is an incorruptible friend of the Otto-

man Porte. From him thou ſhalt learn the ſafeſt methods of our future correſpondence. He is the Apollo of thy nation; and his wiſdom and fidelity will be recorded in the regiſter of that empire, which ſhall know no earlier period than the moon, whoſe creſcent is her arms, and the happy omen of her encreaſing luſtre.

When thou beholdeſt that noble enſign of Mahomet on the top of the chief temple of Jeſus in Vienna, let it augment thy veneration of our law, and convince thee, that all nations muſt ſubmit to the meſſenger of God, and ſeal of the prophets. Be faithful and wiſe, and thou canſt not miſs of happineſs.

Paris, 28th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1645, according to the Chriſtian ſtyle.

---

## II.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

SINCE my releaſe I have informed myſelf of ſome paſſages to which I was a ſtranger during my reſtraint. The Tranſylvanian agent continues ſtill at this court; and his negotiation is not now a ſecret. Monſieur Croiſſy is gone ambaſſador-extraordinary to Prince Ragotſki, on the ſame errand from this crown. The ſubject matter of both their embaſſies is a league. Cardinal Mazarini ſuſpected tergiverſation in that prince, and that he would privately treat with the emperor, if the Grand Signior ſhould withdraw his aſſiſtance and protection from him, or if he himſelf ſhould grow weary of the war. Wherefore Monſieur Croiſſy, according to the cardinal's inſtructions, would not ſign the league, till Ragotſki had called home his ambaſſadors, who were treating with the Imperialiſts at Tyrne, and ſent away the German envoy from his camp.

The league being concluded, he inſiſted on the neceſſity the prince lay under of marching his army nearer to Torſtenſon the Swediſh general, that ſo they might ſupport one another againſt the German forces.

This was the pretence; but in reality it was deſigned to engage the Tranſylvanians beyond the power of a retreat, and to poſt them under the eye of the Swediſh general, who ſoon after poſſeſſed himſelf of Tyrne, the place appointed for treaty between the Imperialiſts and Prince Ragotſki.

It is a town in the Lower Hungary, not far from Preſburgh. The Swedes entered this place the 17th of the 5th moon, but left a garriſon in it of ſeven hundred Hungarian horſe and three hundred foot, according to their articles with the beſieged.

Theſe were ſoon forced to quit the town by Count Forgatſch, an Imperialiſt, the Swedes and Tranſylvanians being marched a great diſtance off; and it is ſaid this Hungarian garriſon yielded not unwillingly to the Imperial arms.

It is certain, General Torſtenſon puts but ſmall confidence in the Hungarian ſoldiers; for above ſix hundred of the common ſort deſerted him the 29th of the 5th moon, and the reſt raiſed ſuch frequent tumults and mutinies, that their commanders ſtood in more fear of them than of their enemies. It is reported likewiſe, that there has been lately no good underſtanding between Ragotſki and Torſtenſon, about the deſigned ſiege of Preſburgh; the former ſeeming too much to favour the Hungarians, and being rather inclined to carry his arms into the emperor's hereditary countries; yet he would not conſent that Preſburgh ſhould be in the hands of the Swedes.

The French ſay, that the prince is humorous and wa-

vering, yet of a fair intention; but that the greateſt part of his officers are corrupted by the emperor; and that therefore both they and the common ſoldiers were for peace; only his wife, his ſon, and ſome few of his counſellors, perſuaded him to adhere to the Swedes.

They add, that the young prince, being inſtructed by his mother one day, in a full aſſembly of the chief commanders, made the following oration, Ragotſki himſelf being alſo preſent.

"Permit me, moſt ſerene and illuſtrious Prince, my Royal Father, to perform the part of a dutiful ſon, a faithful counſellor, and a loyal ſubject. The law of nature and of nations entitles you to my obedience; and the particular honour you have done me, in admitting me to your cabinet, obliges me to exemplify it, in an humble remonſtrance of my ſentiments, at a time when the intereſt of Tranſylvania calls for freedom of advice.

"It is with no ſmall complacency that I now behold you encompaſſed with a circle of heroes, whoſe valour and fidelity may give ſuch a luſtre to your victorious arms as ſhall eclipſe the glory of the Roman and Grecian conquerors. The Alexanders, Cæſars, Scipios, and Hannibals, ſhall no longer draw the world into an admiration of their obſolete achievements. The regiſter of your deeds ſhall foil their antiquated hiſtories; whilſt Plutarch, Tacitus, and Livy, muſt veil to modern pens, the recorders of your matchleſs actions.

"Let not the crafty inſinuations of the German court warp your reſolutions, and cajole you with the deceitful umbrages of peace, only to gain time, that they may more ſucceſsfully carry on the war. Neither ſuffer yourſelves, already in part victorious, to be amuſed with feigned treaties and overtures, which you cannot but ſuſpect. We are now in a condition to give the law, and

ſhould fortune turn the ſcale, it will ſtill be in our power to make our own terms of compoſition. The alliance of Sweden and France have raiſed us to a capacity of braving all Europe, whilſt the one with a potent army on the Rhine, the other on the Danube, keep the Imperialiſts in ſuch perpetual action, that it will be impoſſible for them to barrier Germany from our conquering arms. Now is the time to raiſe Tranſylvania above the title of a tributary province, and reſtore this kingdom to her ancient renown. If we miſs this opportunity, we muſt for ever be ſlaves to the Turks or Germans. Let us not ſeek any longer protection, but from the juſtice of our cauſe, and the dint of our ſwords. Let not France and Sweden boaſt of their Turenne, their Torſtenſon, as if no other nation could furniſh the world with famous generals! Whilſt Prince Ragotſki lives, and lives at the head of ſuch an army, your fidelity and courage ſhall render his name more terrible than that of Tamerlane, and his attempts more proſperous than thoſe of Scanderbeg; and our poſterity ſhall be obliged to raiſe pyramids to your honour; and, from your preſent achievements, to date a new epocha, the eternal memoir of Tranſylvania's redemption."

It is ſaid, that Ragotſki was not very well pleaſed with his ſon's ſpeech, ſuſpecting that he held ſome private correſpondence with Torſtenſon, for whom he had no great affection. Laſt moon he inſiſted earneſtly on the money and men promiſed him by Rebenſtock; but General Torſtenſon thought it ſufficient that he himſelf was ſo near him with his forces; yet, leſt he ſhould take an occaſion of diſcontent, he ſent him a ſupply of money; though he was not without ſome apprehenſions that the prince, having received it, would underhand treat with the emperor.

It is ſaid here, that a Chiaus was arrived in the Tranſylvanian camp, expreſsly forbidding Ragotſki to enter into the hereditary provinces of the emperor; but that he, truſting to the ſtrength of his army (which conſiſts of five-and-twenty thouſand Germans, Tranſylvanians, Hungarians, and Wallachians), was reſolved to purſue his firſt reſolution.

Thou knoweſt what reaſons the Porte had to ſend him this prohibition. The French ſay it was out of fear that he would join with the emperor's forces.

By this thou mayeſt know what opinion the infidels entertain of the meaſures taken by the ſovereign divan. They deſcant at liberty, whilſt I ſend up vows to Heaven for the exaltation of the Ottoman empire.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

III.—*To the Inſtructed in all Knowledge, the Venerable* MUFTI.

HAIL, holy interpreter of the ſacred law! may the Divine light guide thee beyond the errors of human frailty. I am amongſt infidels, enemies to the truth; who yet ſeem as certain of being in the right as thou art ſure they are in the wrong. They hate us with an inveterate hatred. I muſt diſſemble my reſentments; whilſt, with the loweſt proſtrations to the Unity, I celebrate his glorious mercy, who has ſent us ſuch a ſtar to guide our feet into the way of peace.

The Chriſtians ſcoff at the faithful people, as divided into ſeveral ſects. Would my death could wipe out thoſe reproaches, and vindicate the honour of the holy profeſſion. I could retort, that error ſhows itſelf infinite in them; but I muſt hold my peace, and reſtrain myſelf,

leſt my zeal tranſport me beyond diſcretion; remembering I am not ſent here to diſpute, but to act ſecretly for my great maſter, whoſe empire be extended over all the habitable world.

Theſe poor wretches boaſt much of their traditions, their ſacred ſynods and fathers, as if we ever wanted holy men, working wonders, and penetrating into the profoundeſt myſteries, by only wiping their eyes with the duſt of their feet.

They talk much of faith and reaſon; at which I ſmile, as knowing it to be only education: yet, as the worſt of people have ſomething that is good, ſo theſe are not wholly deſtitute of devotion. They pray often, but not ſo often as the true believers, it being, as thou knoweſt, a juſt exception againſt a witneſs amongſt us, "that he prays not ſix times a-day." They pray to men and women deceaſed, whereas thou knoweſt there is no Deity but one. They faſt often, but not ſo ſtrictly as the aſſiſted with the virtue of the ſupreme diſpenſer of graces. They are charitable, but this hinders them not from excluding all from the bleſt abodes, who are not of their belief; whereas thou affirmeſt (who art the reſolver of all the problems of faith) that it will go well at the laſt day with all honeſt people, ſeeing theſe have all the ſame object of worſhip, and their different religions are but as ſo many different ways, which lead a man to the ſame place of reſt, like various roads to the ſame city.

Theſe Chriſtians whip themſelves often with ſmall cords; which humour, they ſay, was ſet on foot by an hermit's preaching and example. Not many countries diſtant from that where I am, there happened ſuch an odd inſtance of this extravagant zeal (which was to be heightened, it ſeems, with the fumes of wine) as plainly juſtifies our prophet's wiſdom, in charging the faithful to avoid it. It

was particularly the cuſtom of ſeveral people in this place, in their proceſſions, to whip themſelves, till the blood ſtreamed down their frocks, which were ſo made, as to cover their faces, and leave only their backs bare. One of theſe zealots, diſtruſting the firmneſs of his conſtitution, had taken ſuch large draughts of this intoxicating liquor, that reeling up and down with his whip in his hand, and his head againſt the walls, he was followed by all the boys of the town hooting after him, which ſo leſſened the repute of this ſottiſh religion, as made them abſtain for the future from this pompous uſage of it. What low thoughts have theſe people of the Almighty Lord of all; when, allowing him to be Omnipotent, yet repreſent him to themſelves and others as delighting in cruelty; whereas, thou knoweſt this paſſion is only to be found amongſt the weak and miſerable.

That the Divine Preſerver of men may continue thee long for the edification of his elect, are the paſſionate wiſhes of the meaneſt of thy ſervants, Mahmut.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## IV.—*To* MUSTAPHA, *Berber Aga.*

WOULD to God I could converſe with thee face to face in the ſeraglio, as in former times. I vent many paſſionate wiſhes to Conſtantinople, that happy reſidence of my beſt friends, the nurſery of my childhood, the ſchool of my youth, and, I hope, the future repoſitory of my old age. When I think of that city, it is with a paſſion hardly ſecond to that which I cheriſh for the place of my nativity. In Arabia, it is true, I firſt ſaw the light of the ſun, but it was in Greece I received the more friendly illuminations of the moon, the ſplendours of the

true faith; which, though they diſcloſe not to us ſo clear a proſpect of the earth and all its gaieties, yet they preſent us with an unveiled diſcovery of the heavens and ſtars, ſhowing us paradiſe with its glittering inhabitants, the purpled colonies of true believers, champions and martyrs of the eternal unity. In the deſart I left my father, or rather he left me, before I found myſelf, being but an infant when he died, but in the city I found friends, which is not a leſs endearing title. He gave me but my birth, whereby I entered on the ſtage of miſeries, with which he ſoon after left me to ſtruggle, before I could diſtinguiſh miſery from happineſs. But they gave me education, which taught me how to ſhun thoſe evils which are the natural conſequences of our birth; ſo that in the main, I am more indebted to them than to him. Let it be how it will, I cannot ceaſe to love them, and often with myſelf with them. This is a ſecond nature. And becauſe I cannot have my deſires fulfilled in that, I gratify myſelf by often writing to them. Should I make compariſons, thou wilt ſay, I am a flatterer. Suffice it to tell thee, that thou art one of the number, whoſe remembrance affects me with ſenſible complacency. Yet I cannot write to thee, nor any of my friends, ſo often as I would, without entrenching on the obligations I have to the other miniſters of the Sublime Porte. I ſend diſpatches to all by turns, ſacrificing my private regards to the expectations of the ſtate, and the pleaſure of my ſuperiors.

Had I been at liberty, I could have ſent thee the earlieſt news of the ſlaughter which the Germans made three moons ago in the French army at Margentheim. It is not too late now to ſay ſomething of it. The imperialiſts owe that triumph to the candour of Turenne, and the degenerate craft of the Duke of Bavaria, who,

to lull the French in a fatal security, sent an agent into France to negotiate a peace, with deceitful overtures and umbrages; commanding also, that none of his soldiers should dare to call the French their enemies. Yet some lay the blame of this overthrow on the Swedes, whose unseasonable suspicion of a private treaty between the French and Germans, hindered Torstenson from joining the former, and exposed Turenne, with his raw and unexperienced forces, to the numerous army of veteran Imperialists.

It was a fatal engagement, and the French lost many brave men, besides an hundred and fifty commanders taken prisoners, fifteen hundred of the common soldiers, fifty ensigns, with many waggons, and four mules laden with money.

It is reported, that whilst Turenne, in the general retreat and flight of his army, betook himself to Margentheim, as he lay on his bed the first night, one of his officers was coming to alarm him with the news of the Germans approach to that town, but unfortunately stumbled at his chamber door, with the noise of which Turenne awaked, and fearing some attempt on his life, leaped off his bed with his drawn sword, and making toward the door, just as the officer opened it, he run him into the heart; by which mistake he himself, and the troops that were in the town with him, had like to have fallen into the hands of the Bavarians. But receiving notice of their approach accidentally by some other means, he withdrew his troops out of the town by a contrary road, and escaped the pursuit of his enemies.

This victory has given new courage to the imperialists, and has not much dispirited the French, who are by this loss enflamed with greater ardours, meditating a speedy

revenge. The genius of this court ſeems to be undaunted, breathing nothing but war.

I ſhall not fail to ſend thee ſuch intelligence as will demonſtrate that Mahmut paſſes not away his time in vain.

I pray the ſovereign of as many empires as there be worlds, to diſtinguiſh thee by ſome particular mark of his favour, from the crowd of thoſe he makes happy.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

V.—*To* SHASHIM ISTHAM, *a Black Eunuch.*

AT length thou haſt condeſcended to beg my pardon, for the calumnies thy tongue has loaded me with. I am not ill pleaſed with thy letter; it abounds with elegant expreſſions of thy ſorrow, for an offence to which thou hadſt no provocation. Thy ſubmiſſion, though late, abates my reſentment; and, if thou performeſt thy promiſe, it is baniſhed. The firſt crime ſo ingenuouſly acknowledged, claims a title to forgiveneſs. Let eternal oblivion ſeal it. I am not by nature revengeful. I rather bluſh for ſhame, than grow pale with anger at him that injures me. Yet ſelf preſervation will rouſe our choler, which is the moſt active humour, and precipitates many to violent courſes. The effect it has on me, is to put me on my guard, leſt he who has wronged me, without any ſigns of repentance, ſhould continue his malice to my deſtruction. But thou haſt diſperſed all my ſuſpicions by thy ſeaſonable addreſs, and if I cannot pronounce thee innocent, I will believe thou art not incorrigible. The beſt advice I can give thee is, henceforwards to attend to thy own affairs, and refrain from thoſe of others; remembering the Arabian proverb, "He that

peeps in at his neighbour's window, may chance to loſe his eyes." There is a great deal of wiſdom couched in theſe ſhort ſentences. They are not the product of one man's experience, nor of a few, but they are the reſult of univerſal obſervation; and our country has been happy above others in the choice of her proverbs. This that I mentioned, is peculiar to the eaſt, yet I can produce an inſtance whereby it was lately verified in the weſt.

There is hardly a night paſſes in this populous city, wherein ſome murder is not committed in the ſtreets. Two nights ago a man was found dead on the ground; whereupon a tumult was gathered about his bleeding carcaſe. Amongſt the reſt, a fellow came crowding in, inquiſitive what ſhould be the matter. Thoſe who ſtood by beholding his clothes bloody, which he was not ſenſible of himſelf, ſeized on him as the murderer. His wild looks increaſed their jealouſy, and the incoherent words with which he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, rendered him guilty in the judgment of the rabble. They carried him before a cadi, by whom he was ſtrictly examined; he ſtoutly denied the fact, and no proof could be brought againſt him but his ſtained clothes. It is the cuſtom here, to put to the torture perſons ſuſpected of capital crimes, in order to draw a confeſſion of the truth. This they did to this poor wretch; and in the extremity of his pains, he acknowledged he had killed his wife that evening, but was altogether innocent of this poor man's death who was murdered in the ſtreet. All the torments they inflicted could force no other confeſſion from him, ſave that which his real guilt prompted him to make, for which he was condemned to death according to the laws. Thou ſeeſt by this, that had he gone about his buſineſs, without prying into other men's matters, he might have eſcaped a diſcovery. But that mid-

dling itch of the imprudent betrayed him (not without the particular direction of fate) to a death which indeed he merited, but not on the ſcore of the murdered man, whom he went out of his way to ſee.

Thou wilt ſay, this ſtory is not applicable to thy caſe, ſince thou haſt never yet embrued thy hands in any man's blood. I tell thee, what I have ſaid was not deſigned as a reflection on thy paſt offence (let it be forgotten); but as a caution for the future, not to engage thyſelf in matters out of thy ſphere; for a buſy body is never without troubles.

Above all, I counſel thee to practiſe the government of the tongue, which is a great virtue, eſpecially in the courts of princes. The Arabians ſay, "That a wiſe man's ſoul repoſes at the root of his tongue, but a fool's is ever dancing on the tip."

Thou haſt no reaſon to take in ill part the freedom with which I adviſe thee for thy good, unleſs thou thinkeſt thyſelf too old to learn. But I have a better opinion of thee than to rank thee among Pythagoras's aſſes.

I have ſaid enough for a friend; too much for an enemy. It is in thy own choice to make me which thou pleaſeſt. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## VI.—*To* Zelim *of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley.*

THOU haſt never vouchſafed to acknowledge the advice I ſent thee ſome years ago, of a Chriſtian's deſign againſt thy life. Perhaps he wanted an opportunity to put his revenge in execution that way; and therefore the caution I gave thee looked like a falſe alarm. Thou truſteſt in thy courage, the ſtrength of thy veſſel, the multi-

tude and fidelity of thy ſlaves, and thinkeſt thyſelf invulnerable. But let me tell thee, that neither thy courage nor thy veſſel, can defend thee from the ſtroke of deſtiny, and thou haſt no greater enemies than thoſe who eat thy bread. Whether it be the continuance of thy cruelty, or the natural regret of ſervitude has rendered them ſo, I know not; but if what I am informed of be true, thou art the miſerableſt man in the world. Wert thou only in danger to loſe thy life by a ſtab, a bullet, or the ſwift effects of poiſon, it would be a happineſs in compariſon of the method that is now taken to deſtroy thee; and the inviſible death which thou wert formerly to receive from a prayer-book, would have been ſoft as the ſtroke of Cupid's arrow, in reſpect of the tragical and unheard of fate which is now preparing for thee. Think not I go about to amuſe or affright thee with chimera's and tales, ſuch as nurſes uſe to awe their children into compliance and good manners. What I tell thee is matter of fact, and confirmed by many letters from Italy, to ſeveral eminent merchants in Paris; I have ſeen ſome of them, and hear that the reſt agree in the ſame relation.

They give an account, that at Naples, on the ſecond of the laſt moon, three witches were ſeized and accuſed of practiſing diabolical arts; of enchanting ſeveral perſons; of doing great miſchief; and, in fine, of having private commerce with the devil. They ſtoutly denied all at firſt, and made very ſubtle and plauſible apologies, inſomuch, as the inquiſitors were almoſt perſuaded of their innocence, till it was ſuggeſted that their houſes ſhould be ſearched. Officers were ſent accordingly, who after a narrow ſcrutiny, found ſome magical books, ſeveral vials of ſtrange liquors, pots of ointment, with an image of wax reſembling a man, but partly melted. There were imprinted on the breaſt of the image ſeveral un-

known characters, figures, and magical ſymbols; and on the forehead was to be read ZELIM EBEN SAGRAN. All theſe were brought and expoſed before the inquiſitors (of whoſe office thou art not ignorant), great deliberation was had about this unuſual emergency. The Imaums and Cheiks were ſent for and conſulted. The witches were examined apart, and put to the torture, as is the cuſtom in capital crimes. Admirable was their conſtancy for a conſiderable time; but at length, overcome by the continuance and ſharpneſs of their pains, they confeſſed they had for ſome years practiſed magic arts, converſed with familiar ſpirits, raiſed tempeſts, earthquakes, and done other wicked feats. Being examined about the image of wax, they declared, that it was the image of a Turkiſh captain of a galley whoſe name was written on the forehead; and that they were hired by certain Italians, who had been ſlaves in the galley of the ſaid captain, to bewitch him to death, in the moſt lingering method they could invent; that in order to this, they had made this image; that every night they met together, with a fourth of their gang (who was not to be found), and made a fire of the bones of dead men, which they ſtole from the graves and charnel-houſes; that they laid this image down at a convenient diſtance before this fire, repeating certain magical words and charms; and as this image gradually melted, ſo the body of the ſaid Turkiſh captain did inſenſibly waſte and decay. And, to add to his lingering death an intolerable torment, they baſted the melting image with the oils, and other liquors which were contained in the vials and pots; that by this means he was perpetually racked with moſt pungent and acute pains in his bowels, head, and all parts of his body, raging under moſt violent fevers, inſatiable thirſt, and want of ſleep. Finally, that this lingering kind of death

would continue as long as they pleased to protract the diſſolution of the waxen image.

This confeſſion, though extorted from the witches in the midſt of inſufferable torments, yet was delivered without any inconſiſtencies, and with all the demonſtrations of a real penitence. And being ſeconded with the teſtimonies of many credible witneſſes, who had overſeen them in ſome of their nocturnal ceremonies; the inquiſitors, moved with a juſt horror of ſo nefandous abominations, ſentenced them to be burnt, and their aſhes to be ſcattered into the ſea; which was accordingly executed on the ſixth of the laſt moon, in the preſence of infinite ſpectators.

The news of this extraordinary event is freſh in the mouths of almoſt all the inhabitants of this city; yet no man, I dare ſay, hears it with that concern for the Turkiſh captain as I do. Even thoſe among the Chriſtians who abhor witchcraft, would nevertheleſs rejoice, if not only thou, but all the muſſulmans were deſtroyed with enchantments, ſince they can never hope it will come to paſs by the ſucceſs of their arms.

I am not credulous of every ſtory that is related of witches, being ſatisfied, that ſuperſtition and ignorance has liſted many in that infernal number, who were innocent and never deſerved it; ſome having been forced by racks and tortures to confeſs themſelves guilty of practiſing enchantments, when, after their execution, there have appeared evident proofs to the contrary. Yet I cannot be ſure, but that there have been ſome in all ages and nations, who have entered into leagues and aſſociations with devils, and have been enabled thereby to perform things above the power of nature. However, I have a particular deſire to hear from thee, and to be informed, whether thou haſt experienced the effect of their

enchantments. If thou haſt not, bleſs thy ſtars that thou wert born and bred a muſſulman, againſt whom the magic of the infidels cannot prevail; and that thou haſt ſwallowed the impreſſion of Mahomet's ſeal, which is of force to diſſolve and make invalid all the charms of men and devils. But if thou haſt felt the force of their enchantments, and pineſt away with unaccountable pains and languors, then think with thyſelf that thou art defective in keeping ſome point of our holy law; that Mahomet is angry with thee, withdraws his protection, and expoſes thee to the malice of evil ſpirits. Neither perſuade thyſelf, that becauſe the three witches are put to death, thou ſhalt preſently recover thy former health and eaſe again; for, ſo long as there is a fourth living, and out of the reach of juſtice, thou art not ſafe. Nay, if ſhe were taken and executed too, ſo long as thy enemies are yet alive, who firſt employed theſe hags, thou art ſtill at their mercy. They will ſearch every corner of Italy, and of all Europe, but they will find inſtruments of their revenge. They will rummage hell itſelf to gratify their fury. The beſt counſel I can give thee in this caſe is, to pacify thine enemies by extraordinary acts of civility to the Chriſtians, wherever thou meeteſt them; by uſing thy ſlaves mildly, and giving them their freedom after a limited time of ſervice, without exacting a ranſom, which neither they nor their relations and friends can ever be able to pay. This will abate the rancour of the infidels, and turn their revenge into kindneſs and love. Thou wilt every where be free from dangers; and thoſe very perſons, who now ſtudy all means to take away thy life, will then hazard their own to preſerve thee from death.

Think not that I go about to perſuade thee to change temper with thy ſlaves, and from the reſolution and bra-

very of a true muſſulman, to ſink into the abject timorouſneſs of a Chriſtian. Be fearful only of thyſelf, and ſtand in awe of none more than of thy own conſcience. There is a Cato in every man, a ſevere cenſor of his manners; and he that reverences this judge, will ſeldom do any thing he need to repent of. Let not the authority of thy ſtation tempt thee to be cruel or unjuſt; but in all things "Do as thou wouldeſt be done unto." This is a precept engraven on every man's heart; and he whoſe actions write after this copy, will always be at eaſe here, and tranſcendently happy hereafter. Follow this rule, and thou wilt experience the effect. Adieu.

Paris, 1ſt of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## VII.—*To the Invincible* Visier Azem.

If one may judge of future events, by applying to them the ſymptoms of things paſt; and if a man may compare one kingdom with another, I ſhould think that France will in time extend the limits of her empire as far as any of the four great monarchies, that have been recorded in hiſtories for their univerſal ſway; I will not ſay as far as the wide-ſtretched empire of the ever-victorious Ofmans. Yet the genius of this nation ſeems in ſome manner to inſpire the French with as ardent a thirſt of glory and conqueſt, as that which has in all ages appeared to be the inſeparable virtue of the muſſulmans. They preſs forward to the mark for which they take up arms; that is, to ſubdue all before them, and lay kingdoms, provinces, and cities, at the feet of their ſovereign. They are not diſcouraged at difficulties and loſſes. The checks and oppoſitions they meet with, do but animate them with new and freſh vigour. So that it is become a ſure

prognoſtic of ſome great ſucceſs to that nation, when at any time they receive ill news from their armies. In this, their courage ſeems to be of the quality of naptha, which by pouring on of water takes fire, although, thou knoweſt, theſe two elements be contrary to each other. So this warlike people, inſtead of being dejected, or made timorous by any defeat given to their armies, are rather inflamed with more active and valiant reſolutions, as will appear by the repulſe given them by the Duke of Bavaria, not many moons ago.

As ſoon as that news arrived in this city, one would have expected to have ſeen ſome tokens of fear in the people, but it wrought a contrary effect. No tears of women and children, no compaſſionate ſighs for their ſlain huſbands, fathers, or other relations; no downcaſt looks, or ominous ſhaking of heads; no melancholy whiſpers, or portentous ſtories, were murmured in the ears of the multitude, but all things appeared lively and proſperous; the very women exciting the young men to liſt themſelves ſoldiers, and the boys in the ſtreets making all their paſtimes conſiſt in imitating the men of arms, and learning the diſcipline of war. There was no need to force men to the field. No ſooner was the king's intention to raiſe new forces divulged in the provinces, but thouſands came voluntarily and took up arms, chooſing rather to ſeek honourable deaths in the toils and hazards of war, than to lead inglorious lives at home, in the ſoft enjoyments of peace.

Theſe things appeared to me as certain preſages of the riſing greatneſs of this monarchy, and an evident ſign that the French nation in this age ſhall outdo their anceſtors in warlike deeds.

The ſtage of that bloody combat between the forces of the Duke of Bavaria and thoſe under the command

of Mareſchal Turenne, was Margentheim. Since which there has been a more fierce encounter between the French and Imperialiſts at Allerſheim; wherein the former have recovered the honour they ſeemed to have loſt in the Spring, owing much to the bravery of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who, with his regiments, had a conſiderable ſhare in the actions of this day; and therefore he has been preſented with magnificent gifts by the queen-regent. The Bavarians loſt in this battle above two thouſand common ſoldiers, beſides many officers of note. On the French ſide, the Duke of Enguien (who had newly joined his forces to thoſe of Turenne), was wounded in the arm, with two other commanders. Monſieur Grammond was taken priſoner, but honourably treated, and ſent away with preſents by the Duke of Bavaria, together with inſtructions about a neutrality, who is exchanged for a German of equal quality. The French have alſo loſt in this battle above a thouſand of the common ſoldiers; ſo that their victory coſt them dear.

The Duke of Enguien, notwithſtanding his wounds, marches on the next day with his army to Norlinghen, offering to that town a neutrality, and liberty for the garriſon to march out, which conſiſted of three hundred Bavarians. But receiving a fierce anſwer from the governor, he cauſed the approaches to be made in order to an aſſault, which was begun that very night, and a breach made in the walls; upon which the inhabitants were forced to intercede with the duke, that there might be a ceſſation of violence till the next morning, promiſing that then the ſoldiers ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion; which was done accordingly.

There he tarried eight days to refreſh his army. Then he marched to Dunkenſpule, which was defended by a

garriſon of five hundred Bavarians. He took this place by ſtorm, yet gave quarter to the ſoldiers, who laid down their arms, and yielded themſelves priſoners. Leaving a garriſon of three hundred French in the town, he removed his forces toward Heilbrun. But in regard this place was defended by fifteen hundred men, he forbore to aſſault it, and only quartered his army in the neighbouring villages.

Since that time, which was about the middle of the laſt moon, there has been no conſiderable action between the French and the Germans. Yet thoſe who pretend to be verſed in military affairs, laugh at the ill conduct of the Archduke Leopold, who, when he had the French ſhut up in a narrow ſtreight, through which it was impoſſible for them to paſs but by ſingle files, neglected that opportunity to cut them off, deferring the victory (whereof he was too ſecure) till the next day, by reaſon of the preſent wearineſs of his ſoldiers. In the mean time, Turenne with his whole army paſſed the ſtreight in the dead of the night, and came to Philipſburgh.

This overſight of the general is much talked of, becauſe had he purſued his advantage he had not only entirely defeated the French, but in all probability falling with the whole force of the empire on the Swedes, he had likewiſe vanquiſhed them, and ſo put an end to the war. But it ſeems as if the inſcrutable Providence had determined to infatuate the minds of the Germans, and reſerve thoſe two potent nations, their enemies, to be a farther ſcourge to the empire.

Adieu, great guardian of the eternal monarchy, and believe Mahmut, when he ſolemnly ſwears by Mount Sinai, and by the tenth night of the moon, that he adores thy conſummate virtue and wiſdom, which never fail thee in extremities.

Paris, 8th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

VIII.—*To* CARA HALY, *a Phyſician, at Conſtantinople.*

I AM weary of writing news of battles and ſieges to the grandees, and I know thou ſeldom troubleſt thyſelf with the care of foreign tranſactions. Beſides, I have no certain intelligence of moment to communicate. But I can acquaint thee with ſomething more agreeable to thy ſtudies and genius.

Here is a man in this city who was not born blind, but by ſome ill hap loſt the uſe of his eyes; yet nature ſeems to have recompenſed that misfortune in the exquiſiteneſs of his feeling. Thou wouldeſt ſay he carried eyes in his fingers ends, ſince he diſtinguiſhes thoſe things by his touch, which are the only proper objects of ſight.—Believe me, I think there can be no deceit or confederacy, whereby he might blind others inſtead of being ſo himſelf. I ſaw him muffled up with a napkin, which covered all his face, then divers pieces of caſtern ſilks, of various colours, were laid on the table before him. He felt them attentively, and told us the colour of each piece exactly. I who was never over credulous of extraordinary pretences, ſuſpecting that either the fineneſs of the linen which veiled his face might give him ſome glimpſe of the different colours, or that ſome byſtander, with appointed ſigns, might inform him, cauſed all the company to withdraw, except a learned derviſe, who was intimate with me. We threw a thick velvet mantle over his face which reached down to his navel, girding it about his waiſt, ſo as to leave his arms at liberty. Then I procured ſmall ſhreds of ſilks, ſuch as I could conceal in the palm of my hand; theſe I cauſed him to touch with his fingers, brought up as high as his chin, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to ſee them, had he had the uſe of his eyes; yet he made not the leaſt miſtake in five ſe-

veral colours. We changed the order of the silks, and sometimes gave him the same piece four or five times together; yet, as soon as he had felt it, he readily told us it was the same colour.

I tell thee, O learned Haly, such an uncommon experiment afforded me matter both of delight and wonder. I concluded from hence, that Nature is no niggard in her gifts, but supplies the defects of one sense by the superabundant accuracy of another. We asked this blind person, By what distinction he thus knew one colour from another without the help of his eyes? He was not able to express the particular manner of this discriminating sensation; but only told us in general, that he felt as much difference between the red silk and black, as he had formerly done during the enjoyment of his eye-sight between the silks of Persia and the fine linen of Europe, which, thou knowest, are as different to the touch as fine paper and vellum.

Thou that daily pryest into the faculties of human bodies, art best able to judge whether this man's excellency lay in the tenuity and fineness of his skin, the subtilty of his spirits, or some unusual, powerful, yet delicate energy of his soul, or whether it consisted in all these together.

The dervise who was with me, seemed not much to admire at this rare quality of the blind man; telling me, moreover, that about ten years ago, in his travels, he had seen a blind statuary at Florence, who undertook to make the resemblance of an image in the chief temple of that city, which he finished so much to the life, that his work could no otherwise be distinguished from the original than by the difference of the materials, that being alabaster, his white clay, which he so tempered and mould-

ed with his fingers, as he continually felt of the other, that no lineament was left unexpreſſed.

Indeed, when I reflected on our mutes in the ſeraglio, and the unaccountable ſagacity with which they apprehend thoſe words which they never heard, I ceaſed to be ſurpriſed at what I had ſeen the blind man perform, or what the derviſe had ſaid of the ſtatuary. I remember in Sultan Amurath's time there was a mute, in whom the Grand Signior took infinite delight; for, beſides a thouſand pretty geſtures and tricks with which ſhe uſed to divert that prince, he often made her his ſecretary, employing her in writing letters to his baſſas and others, whilſt he dictated to her by ſigns. Although ſhe could never receive the ſound of words, nor utter any that were articulate, yet I have ſeen her tranſcribe a whole chapter in the Alcoran, containing a hundred and ſeventy verſicles, in as fine a character as the moſt celebrated ſcribes of the empire; and when ſhe had done, would explain what ſhe had thus written by ſigns, which made it evident that ſhe perfectly underſtood the Alcoran.

Theſe are rare gifts, my friend; yet were all the mutes educated with as much diligence and care as was Saqueda (ſo ſhe was called), it is poſſible they would attain to greater perfection. I have been told, that her tutor, one of the learneſt men in Arabia, beſtowed twenty years in teaching her this method of reading, underſtanding, and writing.

This puts me in mind of a man who was bred a Mahometan, but being taken captive by the French, embraced their religion, not in his heart, but only in outward profeſſion. When I firſt came to Paris, I fell into his company by accident, and underſtanding that he was an African, I deſired to aſk him ſome queſtions, but he was dumb, ſo that I had almoſt laid aſide my hopes of

converſing with him; till perceiving that he moved his lips, and opened his mouth, as one that was talking, I offered him pen, ink, and paper, making ſigns to him, that I would gladly know his mind in writing. He accordingly writ in Moreſco, that he was ſtruck deaf and dumb about eighteen years ſince, telling me alſo the place of his nativity, and how he came hither; I took the pen, and in the ſame language expreſſed my compaſſion of his misfortunes. When he ſaw that I underſtood Moreſco, he writ again, ſignifying to me, that if I opened my mouth wide at the pronouncing of every ſyllable, he could underſtand my meaning by the poſture of my lips and tongue. I found his words true, to my no ſmall admiration; for he would write down what I had ſaid. We converſed together often; and at length I procured his eſcape in the retinue of a Chiaus that was returning from hence to Conſtantinople.

I beſeech the wiſe Architect of nature, and Repairer of human defects, either to continue to us the uſe of our ſenſes, or to ſupply that want by ſome ſuperlative endowments of the mind.

Paris, 20th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1645.

## IX.—*To* Usbeh, *Baſſa.*

THOU wilt ſay I am unmindful of my duty in not congratulating thy new honour before this; and that I forget the good offices which formerly paſſed between us in the ſeraglio. I tell thee, my obligations are infinite, not only to thee, but to many others of my friends at the Porte: It is impoſſible for me to acquit myſelf of ſo many engagements. As for the dignity to which the ſultan has raiſed thee, I received the firſt news of it

within theſe fourteen days; and I dare affirm, that none of thy friends, or of thoſe whoſe dependence is on thee, could with greater complacency behold thee veſted by our moſt auguſt emperor, than I read the letter which conveyed to me this welcome intelligence.

Long mayeſt thou live to enjoy the bleſſings which thy good fortune has heaped on thee. Yet I counſel thee to enjoy them ſo, as not to forget thou muſt die. Let not the grandeur of thy ſtation render thee proud and wilful; but remember, when thou art ſurrounded with a crowd of adoring ſuppliants, that death ſhall level thee with the meaneſt of thy ſlaves. Thus the ancient philoſophers ſpared not to perform the office of monitors to their kings and princes; and I hope, thou wilt not take in ill part the wholeſome advice of Mahmut, who diſcovers a temper void of hypocriſy, in the freedom he aſſumes. If thou giveſt ear to flatterers, they will compliment thee to thy ruin; and when thou art on the brink of a precipice, they will perſuade thee there is no danger, though, if thou goeſt on, they know thy fall is inevitable. They will pride themſelves in the dexterity of their malice, and inſult over thee with ſcornful ſarcaſms, whom not long ago they idolized.

The eminent command thou haſt, requires thy frequent preſence in the ſovereign divan; and that thou mayeſt not ſit there only as an auditor of other men's counſels, and incapable of making one in the number of thoſe who become remarkable by their orations, or reports of foreign events, I will now entertain thee with ſome paſſages which have happened in Europe ſince the beginning of this year, whereof the other baſſas may poſſibly be ignorant.

The diet of Francfort, which had continued for three years, was diſſolved on the 12th of the 4th moon. This

may be known at the Porte, while they remain ſtrangers to the reaſon of it. There are a ſort of Chriſtians in Germany, whom they call Evangelics. Theſe are oppoſite to the Roman church, both in religion and intereſt; and their cauſe is chiefly eſpouſed by the Dukes of Saxony and Brandenburg. It was to comply with theſe that an aſſembly was appointed at Oſnaburg; but the emperor and the Catholics were either for continuing that at Franefort, or tranſlating it to Munſter. While the contending parties were bickering and ſtriving to gain their ſeveral ends, the deputy of the Duke of Bavaria, tired out with ſuch intolerable delays, departed from Franefort, whom the reſt of the deputies followed. And this thou mayeſt report for the true occaſion of the diſſolution of that diet.

Thus, at the beginning of the year, the diſputes which theſe infidels raiſed about ſafe-conduct, exactneſs of titles, priority of addreſs, and many other vain punctilios, hindered them from coming to any concluſion about a peace, which was the principal cauſe of their aſſembling. And this is a folly peculiar to the Nazarenes, that in all public aſſemblies the very ſtrength and vitals of their counſels are ſpent in a vain adjuſting of empty ceremonies.

It is credibly reported here, that the King of Poland earneſtly ſolicites a match with Queen Chriſtina of Swedeland, but has not hitherto had any poſitive anſwer, or effected any thing in it. In the ſecond moon of this year, that queen ſent an ambaſſador, to give the King of Poland an account, that ſhe had taken the government upon her. While he tarried in the Polith court, there were not wanting ſuch, as by the king's order, ſifted his inclination, in reference to this affair. It was propoſed to him that this match would be a happy occaſion to unite the two kingdoms in a firm and durable league;

that the evangelics in Poland would be much eaſed thereby; that Uladiſlaus was not much decayed in his natural vigour; that Swedeland might in the mean while be governed by the council, with many other propoſals and encouragements to this purpoſe; among which I muſt not omit, that it was ſuggeſted, how eaſy it would be for two ſuch potent crowns, in conjunction, not only to humble the Germans, but alſo to put a ſtop to the victorious arms of the Ottoman empire. But all this came to nothing, that wary queen ſuſpecting that there was a deeper deſign in the courtſhip of this old fox; and that by ſuch a match, the kingdom of Swedeland, in default of the iſſue royal, might be ſubjected to a foreign crown.

However, it is eaſy to apprehend from this, that if the Poles maintain at preſent their accord with the Sublime Porte, it is for want of ſtrength to break it; and that they only wait an opportunity to make ſome potent and firm alliance, which may ſecond the deſigns formed by that court againſt the firſt throne on earth, whereof thou art one of the principal pillars.

Remain firm in thy ſtation, and let neither the tempeſts of war, nor the convulſions of ſtate, which are the too frequent products of peace, ſhake thy conſtancy. But above all, ſuffer not thy integrity, which is the baſis of all virtues, to be undermined by bribes.

If thou followeſt this counſel, God and his Prophet ſhall eſtabliſh thee, all men will honour thee, thy ſovereign ſhall exalt thee, and Mahmut will rejoice to ſee thee in time become the atlas of the eternal empire.

Paris, 5th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1645.

X.—*To* Ichingi Cap' Oglani, *Preceptor to the Royal Pages of the Seraglio.*

There is a vaſt difference between thy letter and that of Shaſhim Iſtham. He is eloquent in the acknowledgment of his crime, thou rhetorical in thy own juſtification. Thou haſt plundered Demoſthenes and Cicero, and robbed them of all the flowers and tropes of oratory, to dreſs up a faint, lifeleſs excuſe. Such an artificial apology, inſtead of cancelling, heightens thy offence. It might have procured thee the applauſe of the academy; but it comes ſhort of giving me ſatisfaction for the injuries I have received at thy hands; I have reaſon to eſteem them ſuch, becauſe ſo deſigned, although they took no effect; for wrongs of this kind ought to be meaſured by the intention of the author, not by their ſucceſs. The miniſters of the divan will hardly be prevailed to ſuſpect Mahmut, who has given ſubſtantial proofs of his fidelity.

Tell me, in the name of God and Mahomet, what was the motive that induced thee to ſlander me? Wherein have I merited this perſecution at thy hands? It could not be revenge, becauſe I never gave thee occaſion, unleſs thou ſtill retaineſt a grudge on the ſcore of my ſtudying in the academies; and that at my return from Palermo, thou wert not able to expoſe me in the preſence of the mufti, in any point of language or learning. But I had rather charitably believe it was thy ambition, not thy malice, which gave birth to thoſe calumnies thou haſt vented againſt me. Thou enviedſt me the honour of ſerving the Grand Signior in this ſtation, thinking thyſelf capable of diſcharging this office more ſucceſsfully than Mahmut. I cenſure not thy abilities, but I think it is beſt for every man to be content with his own condition,

ſince deſtiny diſtributes the employments of the world among men, by rules into which we cannot penetrate.

Thou art maſter of the French tongue; but doſt thou think that a complete qualification for a man in my poſt? Art thou fit to converſe in the court of a foreign prince, who canſt not govern thy tongue in that of thy native ſovereign? Thou art yet to learn a courtier's maſterpiece, which is, to diſſemble even the neceſſary art of diſſimulation; that is, as the Arabians ſay, "To have a veil upon a veil;" or, as the Italians, "To have a maſk with a natural face on the outſide." Thou art ſo far from this, that thou canſt not yet draw perfectly the firſt rough ſtrokes of a counterfeit.

To ſpeak plain, hadſt thou by any artificial feigning of friendſhip to me, made way to inſinuate thy ſtory into the belief of the grandees, thou mighteſt have praiſed me to my ruin. But to go bluntly to work, without preventive encomiums, diſcovered at once the weakneſs of thy judgment, and the ſtrength of thy paſſion; giving the miniſters occaſion to think there was leſs of truth, than of deſign in thy accuſations.

For the future, I adviſe thee to mind thy books and ſcholars, and meddle not with Mahmut, whoſe buſineſs is to ſtudy men. Adieu.

Paris, 5th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

XI.—*To the* Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of State.*

With extreme joy I have received the certain news of the taking of Canea by the invincible Ottoman arms.

I muſt confeſs, when I firſt apprehended the intentions of Sultan Ibrahim, to make war with the republic of Venice, I was apt to hearken to ſome thinking men

in this court, who, making their obſervations of the ſultan's indulging himſelf in female pleaſures, conjectured from thence (as by a common rule) that he would not have diſcovered ſuch a martial and active ſpirit, in aſſerting the honour of the Ottoman empire. His dexterous concealing his deſigns, even to the very execution of them, has ſtruck a damp into all the courts in Europe, inſomuch as Cardinal Mazarini this day told the queen regent, that he doubted leſt Sultan Ibrahim would prove another Junius Brutus, who being the nephew of Tarquin, one of the primitive kings of Rome for ſome years, counterfeited an extraordinary ſimplicity and weakneſs of ſpirit; but having privately ſecured a faction to his own intereſts, by popular arts, he, to gain the ſovereignty, changed the form of government, procured himſelf to be made conſul, and diſcovered a genius, ſurpaſſing in policy and mature judgment all his predeceſſors.

Though the cardinal's compariſon be diſproportionate to the grandeur of the ſovereign emperor of the world, who cannot without a vaſt injury be poſtponed in virtue, wiſdom, or power, as a ſecond or imitator of any prince upon earth; yet the character holds good in the main, that he has timely and maturely diſſembled the moſt ſublime abilities and endowments a ſovereign prince is capable of, rendering thereby his enemies ſecure and careleſs; till at length all thoſe illuſtrious attributes exert themſelves on a ſudden, breaking forth like the ſun from an eclipſe, at once dazzling the aſtoniſhed world, and ſurpriſing the enemies of the Ottoman empire, in the ſlumbers which proceeded from the contempt of his ſacred majeſty.

I thought indeed once that the Venetians would have been in a condition to have faced the Ottoman navy, and diſputed their farther progreſs on the ſeas. I expected

no leſs than that they would have made ſome huffing attempts on the iſles of the Archipelago; that they would have entered the Helleſpont, braved the Dardanells, and ſailing forward would have blocked up the Ottoman navy in the Propontis, or driven them into the Euxine ſea for ſhelter. And who could have thought otherwiſe, had they been provided for a war? But our ſage emperor, by ſecrecy, which is the very ſoul of all great undertakings, has anticipated their very fears, and leaped upon the prey while the keepers were aſleep.

Had the Chriſtian princes and ſtates laid aſide their private punctilios and animoſities, when the Venetians firſt made their application to them for aſſiſtance, it might have proved a doubtful war. But inſtead of generouſly uniting their forces in the common defence of Chriſtendom, they began to divide their intereſts and hearts one from another, and that upon the vaineſt motives in the world, one ſtate diſputing with another about precedency of poſts in the army, which proceeded to that height, as to fruſtrate the main deſign; for the pope himſelf at laſt is forced to raiſe the greateſt aids the ſtate of Venice are like to have, joining his galleys with theirs, and ſending 4 thouſand foot on board at his own coſt.

Thus does divine providence, out of the diſcords of Chriſtian princes, draw occaſions to enlarge the ſacred empire of the muſſulmans, and to ſpread the Ottoman conqueſts over the weſtern world.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

XII.—*To the Magnificent and Redoubtable* VIZIER AZEM.

It appears that the Queen of France is very indulgent to her generals, having called home the Duke of Enguien

from the toils of war. This prince neglecting the wounds he received in the battle of Allerſheim, not many days after fell into a violent fever, ſo that he was carried in a horſe litter to Philipſburg, with no ſmall danger of his life. As ſoon as he recovered his health, he was commanded to return to France, and the charge of the whole army committed to Mareſchal Turenne.

Such tenderneſs is never ſhowed to the invincible Ottoman generals, neither would they eſteem it a favour, but a diſgrace. When they go to the wars, they make no underhand leagues with the elements to ſpare their bodies, but are reſolved to combat with cold, heat, hunger, thirſt, and all the hardſhips to which ſoldiers are liable, as well as with the ſwords of their enemies. They take no other armour againſt the rigorous froſts of a Ruſſian winter, or the ſcorching ſands of a Perſian ſummer, but an unſhaken reſolution, an invincible patience, and a mind incapable of bowing under the worſt misfortunes. They are not angry with the weapons of their adverſaries, when they carve in their limbs the marks of an honour which will far outlaſt the pain of their wounds, and in their fleſh hew deep characters of an immortal fame, and a renown which ſhall know no period. They are not parſimonious of their blood, but court their enemies to ſpill it on the ground, from whence it will ſpring up in laurels and wreaths, to crown them with triumphs and glory whilſt they live, and to ſweeten their memory with the praiſe of future generations.

Thus, magnanimous Vifier, do the muſſulman heroes, the props of the firſt empire, manifeſt their courage, in defying of dangers and wounds, and ſcorning to capitulate with fortune, for eaſe and exemption from death. They know, that when they march againſt the infidels, it is in vindication of the eternal unity; and therefore, in-

ſtead of endeavouring to ſhun, they court a death ſo glorious, as that which will immediately tranſport them to the boſom of our holy Prophet, and to the inexpreſſible delights of the gardens of Eden. Where this truth is firmly rooted, there is no room for fear to plant itſelf. But the caſe is otherwiſe with infidels, who blaſpheme that pureſt undivided eſſence. They aſſert and believe a plurality of gods, and therefore, in time of danger, amongſt ſo many deities, they know not whom to addreſs, or whom to confide in. The apprehenſion of death is terrible to them, whoſe hope is only in this life; whoſe conſciences are ſtained with a thouſand pollutions, and yet renounce the very method of being clean; who not only err themſelves, but by their evil example and influence (for I ſpeak of the princes and great ones), draw innumerable after them, to taſte of the tree Zacon, which grows in the middle of hell.

People ſpeak variouſly of the Duke of Enguien's conduct in the battle of Allerſheim. His creatures extol his valour and experience with hyperboles, whilſt his enemies endeavour to leſſen his reputation. Some ſay, he owes his revocation to the queen's diſlike; others attribute it to the extraordinary concern ſhe has for his health. But ſuch as would be eſteemed the wiſer ſort, ſay his return is voluntary, and ſought by himſelf, ſcorning to hold his commiſſion any longer at the pleaſure of Cardinal Mazarini, who, it is thought, firſt procured him this employment, only to have him out of the way, and take off his application from the domeſtic affairs of France. Theſe are the diſcourſes of the people at preſent, who yet perhaps may change their opinions before the ſun goes down. They will always be cenſuring and deſcanting on the actions of their ſuperiors; few being willing to think their tongues were given them to lie

idle. It is but a little member, but often does great miſchief by its activity. One of the ancients gave no good character of it, when he called it a dæmon. Yet we are not bound to believe all that the philoſophers ſaid. Æſop gave the moſt impartial account of this member, when he ſaid "It was the beſt, and the worſt." Sometimes I ſit ſilent many hours together, not for want of company (for here is a glut of that in this populous city); nor becauſe I know not what to ſay (for I could ſpeak a great deal more than it is fit for others to hear), but that I may ſtudy with leſs interruption how to ſerve my great maſter; for much talking enervates the judgment, and evaporates the mind into air. Beſides, by thus practiſing ſilence in private, I learn the art of reſtraining my words in public, when it is requiſite to promote the ends at which I aim. It is not for a man in my ſtation to be open and talkative, but to diſtinguiſh perſons and ſeaſons; to underſtand the due ſtops and allowances of my tongue; ſometimes to ſay much in a little, at other times to ſay little or nothing at all; but ever ſo to ſpeak, as not to lay myſelf naked to the hearers; yet to ſeem a very frank, open-hearted man, in what I diſcourſe of.

I would not have thee conclude from what I have ſaid, that Mahmut uſes any reſerve to the miniſters of the divan, who are mines of ſcience and wiſdom, and can eaſily diſcern the heart through the moſt artificial veil of words. But it is abſolutely neceſſary for me to uſe diſſimulation in this court, ſeeming many times ignorant of what I really know, that I may not be thought to know more than they would have me. I was never yet ſo indiſcreet as to publiſh any ſecret that was committed to my charge, whereby I have gained great confidence with men who delight to unboſom their intelligence. They eſteem me a man of integrity, and fit to be truſted.—

Thus am I made privy to many intrigues of the grandees, and a repoſitory of the court news; whilſt they whiſper in Mahmut's ear what is tranſacted in the royal bedchambers, and private apartments.

By this means I came acquainted with an amour of Cardinal Mazarini, which is known but to a few. This miniſter has none of the worſt faces, and a proportionate elegance in his ſhape; much addicted alſo to the love of women; yet he manages his intrigues with that caution and privacy, as not to expoſe the honour of his function. Among the reſt, he had frequent acceſs to the chamber of a certain counteſs dowager, her huſband being lately deceaſed. This was not carried ſo privately but it was whiſpered about, that a man was ſeen often to come out of this lady's chamber a little before day; but nobody knew who it was (for the cardinal went diſguiſed). At laſt it came to the queen's ear, who was reſolved to unravel this intrigue. She cauſed ſpies to be placed at a convenient diſtance from the lady's chamber-door, which opened in a gallery of the royal palace, with orders to trace him home. That night the deſigned watch was firſt ſet; it fortuned that the cardinal being in the counteſs's chamber, her maid, who was privy to this amour, overheard theſe ſpies talking to each other concerning her lady, which made her more attentive (being in a place where ſhe could not be ſeen), till at length ſhe plainly diſcovered that they lay in wait to find out who it was that had been ſeen coming out of the chamber. She quickly acquaints the counteſs with this news. She conſults the cardinal what was beſt to be done to avoid diſcovery. In fine, it was agreed between them, that the counteſs ſhould put on the cardinal's diſguiſe, and he a ſuit of her clothes; that ſhe ſhould go out at the uſual hour of his retreat, and walk in the gardens; that if ex-

amined, ſhe ſhould pretend this diſguiſe was to guard her from the rude attempts of men, who, if they found a lady alone in the night-time, would not fail to offer ſome incivilities; that ſoon after her departure, the cardinal ſhould go forth in her dreſs, and ſhift for himſelf. This was performed accordingly. The counteſs walked into the gardens in the cardinal's diſguiſe, followed by the ſpies, whilſt he goes to an intimate friend's houſe, an Italian, whoſe fortune depended on this miniſter, and changes his female accoutrements for the proper apparel of his ſex. —The counteſs having walked about half an hour in the garden, was ſeized on by ſome of the guards, under ſuſpicion of ſome ill deſign. She was carried before the queen, and examined; ſhe then diſcovered herſelf, begging the queen's pardon; and telling her, that a particular devotion had obliged her to take that courſe for ſeveral mornings; but if it offended her majeſty, ſhe would hold herſelf diſpenſed with, and would forbear. The queen ſeeming ſatisfied with this anſwer, diſmiſſed her. Thus the amours of the cardinal and the counteſs remained a ſecret; and there are but three perſons beſides themſelves that know any thing of it, among which Mahmut is one.

Thou ſeeſt, illuſtrious miniſter, that the reputation of my ſecrecy has gained me the confidence of one of the cardinal's privadoes; for I had this relation from the Italian, whom I mentioned at whoſe houſe the cardinal changed his diſguiſe. I am not without hopes, by the prudent management of this diſcovery, to penetrate farther into the court intrigues; for he that told me this ſtory, conſidered not that he made me thereby maſter of his fortune; and that it is no longer ſafe for him to deny me any intelligence I require of him. He has put a key into my hand which will open his breaſt at my pleaſure.

Yet I need not magiſterially claim diſcoveries from him, as the only conditions on which he is to expect my concealing what he has already diſcloſed. There is a more dexterous and ſerviceable way to become his confeſſor, without ſuch an ungrateful inſult; whilſt with a well-acted candour, I feign a relation of ſuch things as I ſuſpect, yet cannot be certain are true, till atteſted by himſelf, profeſſing at the ſame time not to believe thoſe pretended reports I heard. If I ſhall be ſo happy as to do any effectual ſervice to the Grand Signior by this engagement, it will anſwer my ends, and I ſhall not repent of my craft.

Mahmut ſalutes thee, ſovereign Baſſa, in the humbleſt poſture of adoration, lying proſtrate on the ground, in contemplation of thy grandeur, beſeeching God that he would grant this favour to thee, to live happily, and to die in thy bed.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## XIII.—*To* Egri Boynou, *a White Eunuch.*

Thou giveſt me abundant proofs of thy affection and friendſhip, in frankly telling me what they ſay of Mahmut in the ſeraglio. I do not expect to be free from cenſure; and am ſo far from being diſcouraged at the obloquies ſome men faſten on me, that it adds to my comfort; it being an aſſured mark of innocence to be traduced. I am not deſirous that the Arabian proverb ſhould be verified in me, which ſays, "That he deſerves no man's good word, of whom all men ſpeak well." I dread to be popular at ſuch a price; and will rather court the ſlanders of the envious, by a ſtedfaſt perſeverance in my duty, than lay a train for the compliments of

flatterers, by favouring ſedition. Thou knoweſt what reaſon I have to ſay this; there needs no interpreter between us. Though the black eunuch has recanted his aſperſions, yet there are others who perſiſt in their malice; and it will be difficult for the maſter of the pages with his beſt rhetoric, to exempt himſelf from the number.

I have received both their apologies, and have anſwered them. I wiſh they would reform this vice; not ſo much for my ſake, who am proof againſt their accuſations, as for their own; for the injury they intended to do me, will redound moſt to themſelves. Miſery is on him that perſecuteth his neighbour.

He that is merciful and gracious, who hath ſeparated the brightneſs of the day from the obſcurity of the night, defend both thee and me from the malice of whiſperers, from the enchantments of wizards, and ſuch as breathe thrice upon the knot of the triple cord.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## XIV.—*To* MUSTAPHA, *Berber Aga.*

THOU wilt laugh at the hypocriſy and folly of the Nazarenes, when thou ſhalt know the articles agreed upon between the Elector of Saxony, and Koningſmark, one of the Swediſh generals, on the 27th of the 8th moon.

The Swedes had prevailed on the ſon of the elector to intercede with his father for a truce; but the old duke would not hearken to any thing of that nature, till Torſtenſon gave orders to the Swediſh army in thoſe parts, that they ſhould oppreſs the elector's ſubjects, by exacting from them unreaſonable taxes and contributions; and that they ſhould lay deſolate all the countries about Dreſ-

den, if they refuſed to pay what was demanded of them. Accordingly they took a caſtle, which commanded a large valley of meadows and corn-fields. The Swedes burnt the corn on the ground, led away the peaſants captives, and demoliſhed many towns and villages; yet not without ſome loſs on their ſide; for the Saxons one night ſtole upon them while they were ſecurely ſleeping, and ſlew an hundred and twenty, taking above three hundred priſoners. Thoſe who were left in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, met with no better fortune; being compelled in a few days to ſurrender this their new conqueſt, with five enſigns, and a hundred and fifty priſoners, which were all carried in triumph to Dreſden.

One would have thought that theſe ſucceſſes ſhould have confirmed the elector in the averſion he had already conceived for a treaty; that he would rather have purſued his good fortune with arms, eſpecially when, by entering into a private ſeparate treaty with the Swedes, he muſt needs give a great ſuſpicion to the aſſembly of the deputies; but the old duke doted; and what neither the repeated ſolicitations of his ſon, nor the continual ravages which General Koningſmark made in his territories, could procure from him, that he granted to the charming addreſſes of a beautiful lady.

The elector's ſon adhering much to the Swediſh intereſt, and finding all other means ineffectual to oblige his new friends, it was agreed upon between him and Koningſmark, that he ſhould at leaſt perſuade his father to a truce of a few days; that during this ceſſation of arms, the ſon ſhould invite his father to a banquet, where Koningſmark ſhould be preſent, with ſome of the principal Swedes in his army. All this ſucceeded according to their wiſhes. The good old man conſented to a ceſſation of arms, and to give Koningſmark a meeting at his

ſon's banquet. The German gallantry, and indeed that of all North Europe, conſiſts much in their exceſſive drinking; he is eſteemed the moſt polite man who can bear moſt wine, with leaſt alteration of his temper. This they call Carouſing. The ſon had provided plenty of thoſe wines which grow on the banks of the Rhine, eſteemed the wholeſomeſt and moſt delicious of all theſe parts. It is not neceſſary to repeat particularly their firſt ſalutes and addreſſes: both parties ſeemed emulous to exceed in civilities; they fell to their wine with freedom and mirth, after the manner of the country. When in the midſt of their glaſſes, whilſt the heart of the old duke was elevated with the juice of the grape, came into the room a tall perſonage all in armour, and making his obeiſance to the company, delivered a letter to General Koningſmark. The general having received it, the ſtranger was invited by the elector's ſon to ſit down with them. He was maſter of the feaſt, and only Koningſmark and the ſtranger, beſides himſelf, were privy to the intrigue.

The ſtranger unbuckling his helmet, and pulling it off (for all the reſt of the company were uncovered, it being the hotteſt day in all the ſummer), diſcovered a face, and hair, much like one of thoſe nymphs deſcribed by poets and painters.

The duke could not withdraw his eyes from this ſurprizing beauty, nor fix his roving thoughts: Sometimes it put him in mind of Ganymede, the diſcarded minion of Jupiter; but Ganymede was never ſeen in armour. Then he thought of Adonis, then of the Babylonian Pyramus, the Indian Atys. In fine, he run over all the celebrated youths of the eaſt, to match the beauty of this illuſtrious ſtranger. He drank and gazed, whilſt his ſon and Koningſmark were pleaſed to ſee the bait

take. From ruminating on our ſex, he paſſed to that of women; and remembering, that in ſome former battles between the Swedes and Germans, ſeveral ladies had diſguiſed themſelves in armour, and followed General Torſtenſon to the field, he concluded preſently, that this was ſome beautiful female of Swedeland.

This thought put the old duke into a pleaſant fit of raillery, yet not without ſome mixture of paſſion for this lovely heroine. There was ſomething ſo peculiarly graceful in all her carriage and addreſs, as charmed the elector's heart. The women in thoſe parts of Europe are not ſo preciſe in their converſation with men as in the eaſt; and it is a great point of education, ſo to adjuſt the punctilios of their department, as neither to appear too open, nor too reſerved. This was her maſterpiece; for ſhe ſo equally divided the parts ſhe was to act, both of a maid and a ſoldier, that neither entrenched on the other, but ſhe acquitted herſelf with exquiſite honour and gallantry.

The next day after the banquet, the ſon renewed his mediation for a treaty, but the elector ſeemed cold. All his thoughts were buſied in ruminating on his fair enemy.

Not to detain thee longer in expectation of the iſſue, the love of this young Amazon had taken ſo deep root in his heart, that he would grant nothing but for her ſake, neither could he deny any thing which ſhe deſired. Thus, by this ſtratagem, they accompliſhed their aims, and he condeſcended to a treaty, after fourteen days debate on the articles, of which I here ſend thee a true and particular copy, that thou mayeſt find ſome divertiſement in the folly of the infidels. The articles are as follow:

"That it ſhould be lawful for the duke to keep due

faith to the emperor, nor ſhould he be obliged to admit any thing contrary to the intereſt of the empire.

" That the elector ſhould not lend the emperor above three regiments of horſe, nor ſhould permit him to raiſe ſoldiers in his principality.

" That the Swedes ſhould have free and ſafe paſſage through Saxony, provided they came not within three miles of Dreſden.

" That there ſhould be free traffic between the elector's ſubjects and the Swedes by land and water.

" That at the end of three months, each party ſhould be obliged to declare, whether they would prolong the truce or break it off.

" That the elector ſhould again enjoy his revenues, except thoſe which were drawn from Leipſick. That he ſhould pay the Swedes eleven thouſand rixdollars a-month, and a certain quantity of corn.

" That the elector ſhould do nothing which might hinder the ſiege of Magdeburg."

Theſe articles at firſt ſight appeared to be equally favourable to the Saxons as to the Swedes; but in reality, they ſerved only as an umbrage to deeper deſigns, which the Swedes had in agitation; for this was the firſt ſtep to draw the Saxon off from the emperor's party; and Torſtenſon was now ſecure, that whilſt the Swedes ruſhed farther into Germany, the Saxons would not moleſt them behind.

For my part, I neither underſtand the policy nor the integrity of the elector in ſigning theſe articles, nor how he can reconcile the firſt of them with any of the reſt; to give ſafe-conduct and kind entertainment to the enemies of his ſovereign; to be obliged not to lend him any more aſſiſtance than his enemies ſhall allow, nor ſuffer

him to raiſe forces at his own charges; to be cheated of his own revenues, and tamely yield to pay a monthly tribute beſides; to be tied up from ſuccouring one of the principal towns in his principality, at that time beſieged by the Swedes; this is a new method of keeping due faith to ſovereigns, or of obſerving common prudence for one's ſelf. But "women and wine cauſe a wiſe man to ſtumble," as the Arabians ſay. And this old prince is bleſſed in a hopeful ſon, who is not aſhamed to turn pimp, that ſo he may betray his father to his mortal enemies. But let the Chriſtians proceed in their falſehood and treachery one againſt another, whilſt every good muſſulman proſtrates himſelf five times a-day, and prays in his integrity for the conſummation of that time, wherein God has determined to put a period to the monarchies of theſe infidels, and to reduce them to the faith and obedience of his holy law.

I wiſh ſome of my friends would ſend me ſome relation of what paſſes in the eaſt; I have heard nothing of moment out of Aſia theſe many moons. I could almoſt think myſelf baniſhed from the eternal providence, whilſt I reſide among theſe uncircumciſed.

Think ſometimes on Mahmut, and if thou canſt not relieve his melancholy, at leaſt pity him, whom all the honours and pleaſures of theſe weſtern parts would not be able to exhilerate, ſo long as he apprehends himſelf forgotten by his friends at Conſtantinople.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

XV.—*To* MAHUMMED HOGIA, *Derviſe, Eremit, Inhabitant of the Sacred Cave at the Foot of Mount Uriel in Arabia the Happy.*

THY remembrance is as the dew of the evening, or the midnight breezes in Afric, after the ſcorching fervours of a ſummer's day, when neither trees, nor houſes, nor higheſt mountains, afford any ſhadow. Such are the employments of ſtate, keeping the mind in as reſtleſs an activity as that which the philoſophers ſay is the occaſion of heat. Such alſo is the refreſhment I find in thinking on thee, whoſe ſoul is a manſion of tranquillity, an umbrella of temperance, and all virtue. Thither I retreat for reſpiration from the fatigues of worldly buſineſs. Pardon the bold acceſs of an humble ſlave, who cannot be ſo happy as to viſit thee any otherwiſe than by letters, yet would be miſerable in the want of this privilege.

Ever ſince I had the honour to kiſs the duſt of thy feet in that ſacred retirement, I was filled with love and admiration of thy ſanctity. Thrice happy are the neighbouring ſhepherds, whoſe flocks feed under thy auſpicious protection. No fierce lions, nor ravenous tigers, dare violate that ſanctuary, or hunt for prey within thoſe meadows conſecrated by thy preſence. That rich and flowery vale was firſt ſecured with an eternal immunity from ſpoil and rapine by the bleſſing of our holy Prophet; now that bleſſing ſeems to be redoubled by thy prayers and abſtinences, who inheriteſt his ſpirit as well as his abode. It was in that holy cave the meſſenger of God faſted for the ſpace of three moons. Thy whole life there is one continued abſtinence. When thou lifteſt up thy venerable hands to heaven in prayer, the enemies of our holy law are ſeized with fear and trembling; thou art the guardian angel of the Ottoman empire; thy body,

attenuated with twenty years faſting, is purified almoſt to immortality; thou art become a denizon among the ſpirits; neither the beaſts of the earth, nor the fowls of the air, nor the fiſh of the ſea, will charge thee with their blood; thy table never ſmoked with ſlaughtered dainties; every tree affords thee a feaſt, and the meadows regale thee with a thouſand harmleſs delicacies; thy thirſt is allayed with the cryſtal ſtreams; and when thou art diſpoſed to banquet, the Arabian ſheep ſupply thee with nectar; thus, like a prudent traveller, thou accuſtomeſt thyſelf beforehand to the diet of the country whither thou art going; thou liveſt the life of paradiſe here on earth.

Thou art not privy to the wickedneſs of the age; that cell guards thee from other mens vices, while thy incomparable humility defends thee from thy own virtues; thou art not puffed up with thy ſublime perfections; pride is a ſerpent which commonly poiſons the root of the faireſt endowments, but thou haſt cruſhed this ſerpent in the egg.

In that ſolitude the angel opened the heart of the Sent of God, and took out from thence the devil's ſeed-plot. When Mahomet awaked (for this was done while he lay in a trance), he ſaid, I am a worm. When Gabriel ſaw his humility, he pronounced a bleſſing on the place, that whoſoever ſhould dwell in that cave, ſhould be meek as Abraham, chaſte as Joſeph, and temperate as Iſmael. Thou haſt experienced the effect of his benediction.

There is another happineſs alſo attends thy retirement: thou liveſt free from cares and anxieties; thou committeſt the public good to the conduct of thy ſovereign, and thy private welfare to the protection of Providence; neither diſquieted for the one, nor ſolicitous for the other. Who riſes, and who falls, in the favour of

the ſultan; who purchaſes the government of the empire by their merits, or who by their money; whether it be better to remain in the ſeraglio, or to be made baſſa of Egypt, are cares that never moleſt thee. Thou canſt ſit in that ſanctuary of peace, and pity thoſe whoſe ambition, and the love of glory, has driven into the toils of war. Thou canſt behold with compaſſion the burdenſome attendants of the great; their labours by day, and their watchings by night; their reſtleſs thoughts and buſy actions; macerated bodies, and uneaſy ſouls: while with indefatigable pains they purſue mere ſhadows, and endeavour to graſp the wind, or ſecure to themſelves a bubble, which is no ſooner touched than it vaniſhes; thou in the mean time art filling thy mind with ſolid knowledge, and laying up poſſeſſions which ſhall never be taken from thee; for the ſoul carries her goods along with her to that other world.

I often wiſh myſelf with thee; and the remembrance of what I once enjoyed in thy converſation, cannot be effaced by diſtance of time and place; the farther I am from thee, the more ardently do I long to ſee thee. But even in theſe innocent deſires, there is a neceſſary mortification; ſince we are not born for ourſelves, but to comply with the myſterious ends of fate. I am appointed to ſerve the Grand Signior in this place, where I endeavour to acquit myſelf a faithful ſlave, and a good muſſulman. If I fail in the firſt, my great maſter will puniſh me; if in the laſt, God and his prophet will revenge it. Yet I hope every frailty will not be eſteemed a tranſgreſſion, ſince the heart and the hands go not always together. I often ſtrive to imitate thy abſtinence, but my appetites are too ſtrong for me: I return to my old courſe again, like a bow that is forcibly bent. Yet I ſin not in this, ſince it is not required at my hands.

Pray for me, holy man of God, that, while I aim at the beſt things, I may not fall into the worſt; and by ſtriving to arrive at perfection, I may not crack thoſe powers which are requiſite to keep me ſtedfaſt in the high-way of moral virtue. I leave thee to thy contemplations, and the ſociety of thy courteous angels, who ever wait at the door of thy cell.

Paris, 20th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## XVI.—*To* USEPH, *Baſſa.*

I FORMERLY acquainted thee, that Uladiſlaus King of Poland, ſought Chriſtina Queen of Sweden in marriage; but that his propoſal was rejected. Now thou mayeſt know, that this monarch has made a more ſucceſsful amour, being married to Louiſe Marie de Gonzague, Princeſs of Mantua. The nuptial ſolemnities were performed in this city by the ambaſſador of Poland, who was his maſter's proxy. The greateſt part of the laſt moon was ſpent in maſks, banquets, and court-revels, to honour the eſpouſals of this new queen, who is ſince gone towards Poland, being attended to the frontiers by a numerous train of the nobility, with all the ceremonies and regard due to a perſon of her rank.

The French, who are never ſparing in words, are too liberal in the praiſes they beſtow on this princeſs; for if all were true they ſay of her, ſhe might be liſted in the number of angels; whereas, ſome more impartial eyes have diſcovered ſuch imperfections, as ſpeak her yet on this ſide a ſaint. But ordinary virtues in princes dazzle the multitude, borrowing a greater luſtre from the nobility of their blood, and the eminence of their quality; whilſt their vices are either ſhrouded from the vulgar, or

made to paſs for virtues, in the artificial dreſs which flatterers put on them. It is under this advantage the new Queen of Poland is cried up for a Diana; though a late ſatireſt vindicates her from being half ſo cruel as that goddeſs; it being no ſecret, that a young Italian marquis had ſomething kinder uſage than had Acteon, when he accidentally encountered this princeſs as ſhe was walking alone one evening in a grove belonging to her palace.

I am no patron of libels; nor would I ſpeak irreverently of thoſe whoſe royal birth claims reſpect from all mortals; but the ſtupidity of the Nazarenes provokes my pen, who allow their women all the uncontroulable freedom and opportunities that commonly give birth to the moſt irregular amours, and yet believe them innocent. They are perfect idolaters of that ſex, not having learned, with the illuminated muſſulmans, that women are of a creation inferior to that of men, have ſouls of a lower ſtamp, and conſequently more prone to vice; and that they ſhall never have the honour to be admitted into our paradiſe.

But thou who believeſt the doctrines clear and intelligible, and haſt kiſſed the garment of the Sent of God, wilt not ſuffer thy reaſon to be blinded by the enchantments of theſe deluding fair ones; but ſo love women, as ſtill to remember thou art a man, which is ſomething more ſublime.

Paris, 1ſt of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

## XVII.—*To the* Kaimacam.

It is hard to gueſs where the French victories will terminate. Either fear, or the deſire of novelties, opens the

gates of moſt cities to them; and when that will not do, the force of their cannon makes a paſſage into the ſtrongeſt holds of their enemies, and puts whole provinces under their ſubjection.

Their enemies ſay, that the French never beſiege a town, but their firſt aſſaults are made with bullets of gold; and when that will neither prevail on the governor, nor win a party, then they only try the force of the coarſer metal. Yet this will appear but a ſlander, if thou conſidereſt a late action of the Duke of Orleans, when he lay down before Bourburg.

He had ſcarce finiſhed his trenches, when the next morning an arrow was found with a letter faſtened to it, not far from his tent. The letter was directed to the duke, and ſubſcribed by the governor of the town. The contents of it were, to ſignify to him, that if he would give him fifty thouſand pieces of gold, and continue him in his office, he would the next night open the gates, and let in his army; and that before mid-day he would ſend a meſſenger to know his pleaſure. The duke waited the arrival of the meſſenger, who ſeconded what his maſter had ſaid. But the magnanimous prince, inſtead of accepting his offer, ſent him back to his maſter, with this meſſage, "That he came not before the town as a merchant, to purchaſe it at the price of a needleſs treaſon; but as a ſoldier, at the head of an army fluſhed with continual victories;" ſummoning him forthwith to ſurrender at diſcretion, that being the only way to experience his generoſity.

This year has been ſignalized with much action in Flanders, Catalonia and Italy. The field was ſhared among many brave generals.

The Duke of Orleans had the command of the army in Flanders, where he took the forts of Vandreval, Bour-

burg, Link, Dringhen, Bethune, S. Venant, Guiſca, Lens, Mardyke, Lillers, Mening and Armentiers.

Theſe places were won by ſeveral parties, under the commands of the Mareſchals de Gaſtion, de Rantzan, and the Duke of Guiſe, who all acted in ſeparate bodies under the Duke of Orleans.

Nor was the Count de Harcourt idle in Catalonia, where he ſucceeded in the charge of the Mareſchal de la Mothe. The firſt effort of his arms was the retaking of Agramont, which the Spaniards had ſeized; a ſtrong city, and which kept a large part of Catalonia in ſubjection.

From hence he marched toward Roſes, one of the moſt important places for ſtrength under the Spaniſh king's dominions, and governed by an experienced ſoldier, who failed not to defend the place to the laſt extremes; but after a ſiege of two moons was compelled to yield for want of proviſions.

After this, the French general cut off ſeven hundred Spaniards, who were poſted to hinder his paſſage over a river. The next day the whole armies meeting in the plains of Liorens, there was a furious encounter, in which the Spaniards loſt ten regiments of horſe on the ſpot; the reſt threw down their arms and yielded. The Marquis of Mortare, one of the Spaniſh generals, was taken captive, with other perſons of note; among which was the ſtandard bearer of Spain.

Yet this was but the engagement of one wing; for when the other entered the combat, the ſlaughter was dreadful. Of the Spaniards were ſlain ſix thouſand horſe, and ſixteen hundred foot; and three-and-twenty hundred of them were made priſoners. The French loſt not above three hundred in all, and had but a few wounded.

This battle has brought infinite glory to the Count de Harcourt. After which there happened nothing remarkable in Catalonia, ſave the taking of Balaguier, which is like to end this year's campaign on that ſide.

Prince Thomas of Savoy commanded in Italy, but had no great number of French in his army, the main body being drawn off to ſerve in Catalonia. Yet vexed to ſee the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong caſtle, and kept the field in a bravado, as if he were not able to face them, he raiſed ſome recruits and entered the Milaneze, where he took the city and caſtle of Vigevano. After this, deſigning to return into Piedmont, he found all the paſſages blocked up by the Spaniards, who had a far greater army than his. Yet aſſuming courage, he attempted to paſs the river Moura; and the enemy preſenting themſelves to oppoſe his deſign, he gave them battle, and killed five hundred and threeſcore of them, among which were nine officers of principal command and quality; on his ſide were loſt two hundred common ſoldiers and twelve officers, among which was his brother Prince Maurice of Savoy. Theſe are the chief actions on that ſide. As for Portugal, there has happened nothing in that kingdom worthy of remark.

I have in this letter, ſage governor of the imperial city, obſerved the method thou enjoinedſt me; I have acquainted thee with whatſoever has occurred in the preſent wars of France and Spain during this year.

It is diſcourſed here, that the Venetians will lay ſiege to Canea next ſpring, in hopes to recover that important place from the arms of the victorious Ottomans.

The Duke of Orleans will be on his march to Flanders toward the latter end of the next moon, reſolving to make an early campaign, being alarmed with the late loſs

of Mardyke which the Spaniards took by ſurpriſe, without much bloodſhed, having not the fourth part of an hundred men killed on their ſide; whereas, when the French took it from them, it coſt five thouſand lives of the beſt ſoldiers the King of France had in his army.

The hour of the poſt will not permit me to ſay more, than that I am the humbleſt of thy ſlaves.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## XVIII.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

I will not make trial of the virtue of friendſhip at this time, in the way that philoſophers propoſe to be uſed between ſuch as own that title. I will not complain of the dolours I undergo, that ſo by making thy compaſſion ſhare them with me, I may eaſe myſelf of a part. It appears to me a puſillanimous, if not an unjuſt action, for a man to transfer his ſufferings by diſcovering them to his friend, and deſignedly throw that upon another, which is ſcarce tolerable to himſelf.

I am ſick, and cuſtom has rendered this almoſt as natural to me as health. My conſtitution is not proof againſt the envenomed arrows that are ſhot from the ſtars; nor am I conſtellated to reſiſt the ſecret contagions that lurk in the elements. The herbage of the field languiſhes when poiſoned with inviſible atoms from above; and all the leaves of the foreſt wither when touched with the baneful emiſſions of certain meteors, or ſcorched with the winged exhalations of the night. So our bodies receive a thouſand impreſſions from things without us, and not a few maladies from ourſelves. The very channel of life proves many times the vehicle of death, while our lungs ſuck in unwholſome airs, and our very breath be-

comes our bane. We have radical poiſons in our complexions, which, though they do us no hurt while we let them lie dormant, yet, once excited by our paſſions and vices, they become noxious and fatal, hurrying us into the chambers of death, by unaccountable diſeaſes and pains, which are under no predicament.

This makes me bear my preſent diſtemper with an equal mind, becauſe I know its original, and it is not in the liſt of thoſe maladies which have no name; whereby I can eaſily calculate its duration, and almoſt point to a day when I ſhall be well again; for it is in the number of thoſe, phyſicians call acute; and the anguiſh it inflicts confirms that title.

Take not this for a complaint, nor what I am about to ſay for a paradox, when I tell thee, that I know not which is greater, my pleaſure or pain, during this excruciating fever. Theſe affections border ſo near one upon another, that I find it difficult to diſtinguiſh them. They ſeem to be inmates to each other, and blended together in their roots. Sure I am, they are ſo twiſted and interwoven in my conſtitution, that I never felt one without the other. Every man may experience, that his ſtrongeſt deſires are compounded of theſe two paſſions, and the very moment of fruition itſelf cannot ſeparate them. The minute of enjoyment it but conſecrated to his loſs, while the height of his joy is the riſe of his grief, ſince the ſmalleſt particle of time cannot diſtinguiſh the life and death of his pleaſure.

Do but reverſe this contemplation, and apply it to my ſickneſs, and thou wilt find no riddle in my words, when I aſſure thee, that as the torment of my fever advances, ſo does my eaſe; pleaſure and pain ſit and ſhake hands in my heart, embrace, and equally divide its ſyſtole and diaſtole between them.

Yet I muſt needs own, I am indebted for this allay of my dolours to the preſence of my mind, which I ſuffer not to be torn from itſelf, or carried away by the violent motion of my agitated ſpirits. Were it not for this, a fever would prove a hell upon earth, and every pulſe a tormenting fury. My very drink (which is all my ſubſiſtence now) would appear but the loathſome diſtillation of that tree, whoſe unpalatable and ſcalding gum is appointed for a beverage to the damned. The ſofteſt entertainment of my bed, while awake, would but be a tranſlation of the torments of Ixion and Syſiphus; and the flattering intervals of ſleep would but renew the ſufferings of Tantalus. Whereas now, whether aſleep or awake, my mind, keeping aloft in her proper ſphere, buſied in the contemplation and enjoyment of herſelf, and ſuperior objects, partakes not in the fever of my body, but, as if on the cool top of ſome high mountain, ſurveys all the vallies beneath, without being ſenſible of their raging heats.

I owe this tranquillity, in the midſt of bodily perturbations, to the examples of ancient philoſophers, which thou knoweſt have far more influence than precepts. Ever ſince I read, that Plotinus could chace away the racking tortures of the gout and ſtone, by the ſole force of his thought, I daily tried the experiment, ſpurred on by emulation of his virtue, as judging it ignoble in a muſſulman to give the palm to a pagan in any point of maſculine bravery.

It is recorded of the ſame philoſopher, that, by the mere ſtrength and majeſty of his mind, he diſſipated the enchantments of Apollonius Tyaneus; and the infernal ſpirits confeſſed they were baffled by that thinking man: As if his ſoul were of the nature of Meduſa's head, which turned all into inactive ſtatues who did but look on it.

Surely great is the efficacy of contemplation hinted at

in the Arabian proverb, which ſays, "He that can ſee his own eyes without a glaſs, ſhall be able to move the bull's horns." Which myſterious expreſſion is thus interpreted by the learned Avicen: A prophet, or ſpiritual man, who always converſes within, ſhall have power to ſhake the foundations of the earth; which, thou knoweſt, reſts on the horns of a bull, according to the doctrine of our holy lawgiver.

I need ſay no more to convince thee that I am in a fever. My thus expatiating and running from one thing to another (when I thought to have ſaid all in a few words) will ſatisfy thee what temper I am in. Yet recollecting myſelf with comfort, that I know my diſtemper, I will crave leave to tell thee a ſhort ſtory of a man who was ſick for many years, and yet the ableſt phyſicians in Paris could not diſcern his malady.

This perſon was an officer of the city, whoſe buſineſs it was to arreſt men that were in debt. He was obſerved to be the ſubtleſt of all his brethren, and the moſt dexterous at plotting another man's ruin. This augmented his eſtate, and he grew extremely rich. But in the one-and-fortieth year of his age, he was ſeized with an unknown malady, a diſtemper to which the moſt ſkilful were ſtrangers. He languiſhed five years, in a condition which moved all men to pity. It will be tedious to recount the ſymptoms of his illneſs. At length he died, and, according to his own will, was diſſected. The phyſicians found all parts of his body decayed and waſted; but when they came to his head, they were above meaſure aſtoniſhed to ſee a neſt of ſerpents, inſtead of brains. This was concluded by all to be the ſource of his diſtemper; and people deſcant variouſly on it. Some ſay it was a judgment of God inflicted on him for his cruel ſubtlety, in trepanning men out of their liberties by a thouſand

wiles: Others are of opinion, that it is a natural product, it being usual in some constitutions for this sort of creature to be bred out of their vitals. A merchant that had been in Peru told me, that in a province of that empire, there were people, who, by drinking the water of a certain river, had serpents often engendered in their bowels; that he had seen one presented to the King of Spain, which was taken out of a dead man's heart, a cubit in length. He said it was of a crimson colour, without scales or eyes; neither was it venomous. This he asserted very solemnly, and with imprecations.

I tell thee, dear friend, if these things be true, who can be sure he harbours not some such loathsome inmate in his body; yet I would not have thee grow melancholy upon it, and disturb thy repose. The day will come when we shall all be metamorphosed into worms and serpents in the grave.

In the meanwhile, live thou happily in the favour of thy sovereign, in the enjoyment of thy health, the vigour of thy senses, and have sometimes in thy thoughts a man full of infirmities, without murmuring, Mahmut, that loves his friend in all conditions.

Paris, 26th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## XIX.—*To the* Selictar Aga, *or Sword-Bearer to his Highness.*

I wish I could time my letters so, as to gratify all the ministers of the blessed Porte, by making each alternately the first relater of some acceptable news in the mysterious divan, where all human events are scanned with impartial judgment. But every moon does not present us with sieges or battles; neither can I receive intelligence

of all remarkable events, ſo ſoon as they come to paſs. What I ſhall now tranſmit to thee, is an account of what has been omitted in my diſpatches to the other miniſters.

Europe is a field, fertile in rebellions, tumults, diſorders, and unnatural wars. No part of Chriſtendom, which is not polluted with treaſons, perfidies, and maſſacres; no corner undefiled with human blood. The ſon conſpires the death of him who firſt gave him his life; the brother lays trains to enſnare the partner of his blood, the offspring of her that bare himſelf. No bond of affection, or tie of conſanguinity, is of force to reſtrain theſe infidels from purſuing each other with malice. Neither has their religion any more influence on their paſſions, than the fables of the ancient poets. In public and private, all things are governed by intereſt. Thus, while every man and every ſtate are only biaſſed by the narrow principles of ſelf-preſervation, they abandon the general good of Chriſtendom, and expoſe it as a prey to the next daring invader.

There is no reaſon that we ſhould grieve at this folly of the Nazarenes. It is from their impiety and vices, the virtue and wiſdom of the victorious muſſulmans receive the greater luſtre, who are created to diſplant theſe uncircumciſed, and inſtruct the nations which they poſſeſſed in the faith free from blemiſh.

Yet ſince the depredations which the Swedes have made in Germany and Denmark, the neighbouring crowns and ſtates, notwithſtanding their inſincerity, have ſeemingly interpoſed their endeavours, to prevent the worſt effects of a war, ſo deſtructive to the common intereſt of Chriſtendom. Deputies were ſent from all parts to Munſter and Oſnaburg, with inſtructions from their reſpective ſovereigns. They have ſquandered away much time in vain overtures of peace; whilſt the Swedes daily get

ground on one ſide of the empire, and the French are not unſucceſsful on the other.

The enemies of France, ſenſible that they cannot reduce this crown by open force, have recourſe to artifice. They endeavour to corrupt her allies, and inſinuate into the minds of the United States of the Low Countries, all thoſe apprehenſions which may ſerve to improve the jealouſy they had already conceived of the French neighbourhood; ſuggeſting that the Spaniſh Netherlands are the only bar which ſtops the armies of France from overrunning Holland, and the reſt of the United Provinces. In fine, they have prevailed on them to enter into a ſeparate alliance, and not to treat in conjunction with the other miniſters at Munſter.

On the other ſide, the French, by their agents in Holland, endeavour to unmaſk the artifice of the Spaniards; repreſenting that they have no other deſign in theſe inſinuations, but to breed an ill underſtanding between this crown and the United Provinces, that ſo by their ill offices, in time, things may come to a rupture, and the States be deprived of the friendſhip and protection of France, which alone is able to ſupport that commonwealth againſt the pretenſions of their old enemies, the Spaniards. All Europe is aſtoniſhed to ſee, that notwithſtanding the utmoſt condeſcenſions of the French court to conſerve peace, yet the States, led by their ill deſtiny, ſhould embrace the propoſals of Spain. This makes a great impreſſion on all the miniſters aſſembled at Munſter and Oſnaburg, who now conclude, that the Spaniards only ſeek occaſions to perpetuate the war in Europe; that whilſt the princes of the empire are engaged in a defence of their territories, and the Swedes and French are buſied in purſuing their conqueſts, they may pick a quarrel with their new friends, whom they have

deprived of a more powerful protection, and re-eſtabliſh themſelves in the revolted provinces.

The deputies have had ſeveral conferences about this important affair; and the reſult of their counſels is, to ſolicit the French court to uſe its utmoſt power to prevent the ill conſequences which this ſeparate treaty will bring along with it.

It is diſcourſed here, that Monſieur de la Tuillerie will be recalled from the court of Swedeland, being eſteemed the fitteſt man to diſſuade the Hollanders from this new alliance; he having been already employed in ſeveral negotiations with the States, and is well verſed in the methods of treating with that nation.

This ſome judge to be the reaſon of the Sieur Chanut's being ſent to Swedeland, that he may reſide at Stockholm, and continue to act there in the abſence of la Tuillerie. So nice and delicate is this affair, that all France cannot afford another man duly qualified, to manage it with any probability of ſucceſs. If he ſhow not more candour in this negociation than he did when he was ſent to mediate a peace between Swedeland and Denmark, he will receive but ſlender thanks at his return; but if he ſucceeds, it is ſaid, that Cardinal Mazarini has declared, he will merit to be inſtalled in the order of the Holy Spirit. I have formerly ſpoke of this in one of my letters, as the moſt eminent order of knighthood in France.

I wiſh the Chriſtians may ever find difficulties to obſtruct the meaſures they take to eſtabliſh an univerſal peace, and may continue to amuſe and vex one another, till the day of the ſcourge.

Paris, 40th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XX.—*To the* Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

It is not yet publicly known what deſigns have moved this court to order a mighty fleet to be fitted out to ſea; but it is privately whiſpered, that they will ſail to the Levant, to aſſiſt the Venetians againſt the Turks.

People diſcourſe variouſly, according to the ſtrength or weakneſs of their reaſon; and five days ago an old man went to Cardinal Mazarini, pretending to ſpeak by inſpiration: He told him, that it was in vain to truſt to their winged caſtles (ſo he called the ſhips), the multitude of their armies, or in the treaſures of their money; for a decree was ſigned in Heaven againſt all the nations in Europe; that the war was begun above, between the potentates who have the cuſtody of kingdoms and empires; that they ſhould ſoon ſee the banner of the eternal diſplayed in the firmament; that the ſtars ſhould fight in their courſes againſt the wicked profeſſors of Chriſtianity; that the Iſmaelites ſhould come out of their holes, and ſhould flow down like a torrent from the mountains of the eaſt, overrunning all Chriſtendom; in fine, that Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, ſhould be laid deſolate, their beautiful cities ſacked, and the inhabitants led into captivity; that the pope, with all his prieſts, ſhould be exterminated; and that all nations ſhould embrace one law.

They put him in priſon, but he was found walking next day in the ſtreets. The keeper chained him in irons, but in the morning he was ſtanding at the gate of the priſon, preaching to the people. Some ſay he is a chemiſt, and has found out the maſter ſecret; others ſay, he is a prophet; but moſt judge him to be a magician. He ſeems now to have loſt his vigour, not being able to re-

leaſe himſelf from the chains which faſten him to the ground where he lies; yet he continues to foretel the ruin of Chriſtendom. It is ſaid he will be ſent to Rome, there to receive ſentence of the holy father, according to his demerits. I am no admirer of viſionaries; yet there appears ſomething extraordinary in the conſtancy of this man. Time will demonſtrate, whether he be a true or a falſe prophet.

A courier came to this city laſt night from Swedeland, who brings letters from Monſieur Chanut, which ſay, that he has received great encouragement to hope for the ſhips which he was to buy in Swedeland. Thou haſt already heard, that Monſieur la Tuillerie, ambaſſador from this crown to Queen Chriſtina, was thought the only proper inſtrument to diſſuade the United States of the Low Countries from entering into a ſeparate treaty with Spain; and that therefore Monſieur Chanut was ſent to reſide in his abſence at Stockholm, to obſerve what paſſes, and to continue the alliance between the two crowns.

This miniſter arrived in Swedeland the 15th day of the moon of December, in the laſt year, where Monſieur la Tuillerie had prepared all things ready for a ſpeedy diſpatch of his negotiation; having the day before his arrival made known to that court the pleaſure of the King of France, and the Queen-Regent, whoſe letters were received by Queen Chriſtina with all the marks of royal affection; ſhe telling the ambaſſador, that ſhe infinitely honoured the perſons of the king and the queen-regent; and that ſhe would give them ſuch proofs of the integrity of her friendſhip, as would demonſtrate that ſhe was ſenſible of her obligations to them, for what they had contributed to the good ſucceſs of her affairs; and that there was nothing more dear to her, nor more fixed

in her reſolution, than to conſerve inviolably the league that was between them. She farther told the ambaſſadors, that it was with no ordinary complacency ſhe now beheld two miniſters of France in her court, after ſhe had been without any for a long time. In fine, ſhe aſſured them, that whatſoever could be ſpared from the neceſſary defence and ſervice of the kingdom, whether ſhips, arms, or men, ſhould not be wanting to the aid of the King of France.

By this thou mayeſt perceive, that though the King of France has powerful armies by land, yet he is defective in naval forces; or, if he has ſhips enough to defend his own realms by ſea, and to ſerve as convoys to his merchants, it muſt be concluded, that ſome foreign expedition is deſigned, which has put him upon this extraordinary method to increaſe his fleet.

I thought it highly neceſſary to acquaint thee with this paſſage, that the miniſters of the Porte, auguſt and ever happy, may conſult what meaſures to take with this prince, if it be true that he deſigns to break the league which he made with Sultan Ibrahim four years ago. There is but little confidence to be repoſed in the moſt ſolemn oaths of Chriſtian monarchs, who hold not themſelves obliged to keep faith with thoſe whom they eſteem infidels; and thou knoweſt that is the beſt title they can afford the obſervers of the moſt perfect law in the world. Yet the French, among all the nations of the Meſſias, ſeem to bear the greateſt reſpect to the Ottoman empire. But they are inconſtant and changeable, which is an argument of inſincerity. They are very prompt and warm in contracting friendſhips, and as ready to infringe thoſe ſacred bonds, on the leaſt occaſion, eſpecially where intereſt and ambition have the aſcendant.

The Venetian reſident at this court makes daily viſits to the queen-regent, and has frequent conferences with Cardinal Mazarini. Many couriers paſs between Munſter, Stockholm, and this city. Yeſterday one arrived from the Venetian ambaſſador at Munſter, giving an account that the ſecretary of that embaſſy, whom he had ſent to Queen Chriſtina, was returned with the promiſe of eight ſhips of war, lent by that queen to the republic, to aſſiſt them againſt the all-conquering muſſulmans.

It ſeems as if Sweden were become the common arſenal of Europe, from which the other kingdoms are ſupplied with all the inſtruments of war. But what is moſt obſervable is, that the Venetians obtained not this favour, without the mediation of the French miniſter at Stockholm; by which it ſeems evident, that this court has newly entered into a private league with the republic; and that they deſign to ſurpriſe the Ottomans with ſome ſudden enterpriſe by ſea.

I ſhall not let a moment eſcape which may preſent me with the leaſt opportunity to diſcover what is in the hearts of theſe infidels.

If thou wilt favour me with thy inſtructions, I ſhall make the ſafer ſteps. God, whoſe eye penetrates into all obſcurities, enlighten us with a ray to that wiſdom, which once revealed to his meſſenger the ſecret conſpiracy of the Corcis, when they plotted to deſtroy the temple built without hands.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXI.—*To* WILLIAM VOSPEL, *a Recluſe at Halmerſtadt in Auſtria.*

I RECEIVED thy letter with abundance of complacency, in that it argues the continuance of thy friendſhip; and

that I trace therein no footſteps of an angry pen, notwithſtanding the liberty I took to deſcant on thy manner of life. On the contrary, thou ſendeſt me an apology, full of meekneſs. Thy reaſons have a marvellous force in them; they ſeem to ſpring from a ſoul vegete and living, yet dead to paſſion. Thou almoſt perſuadeſt me to affect a monaſtic life, which may not unfitly be termed a ſociable ſolitude.

I much admire what thou ſayeſt concerning ſilence, and wiſh I could practiſe that paſſive virtue. It is the firſt ſtep to wiſdom, the nurſe of peace, and the guardian of virtue. Words do but ruffle and diſcompoſe the mind, betraying the ſoul to a thouſand vanities. Therefore Pythagoras enjoined his diſciples five years ſilence before he admitted them to his myſterious philoſophy.

But tell me why thou didſt not rather chooſe to live in a deſart remote from men, where thou wouldſt have no temptation to ſpeak, unleſs thou wert diſpoſed to hold a conference with the trees or beaſts, or hadſt a mind to ſport thyſelf, and have thy words retorted by mocking echoes? If a recluſe life be thy choice for the ſake of contemplation, I would adviſe thee to turn hermit. But perhaps thou dareſt not venture thyſelf among the ſatyrs of the wilderneſs, or thou art afraid of the wild beaſts. As for the firſt, they are either the dreams of poets, or if there be any ſuch beings in reality, they will not hurt thee, ſince thou voluntarily forſakeſt the company of men, to become a ſylvan, as they are. As for the latter, I muſt confeſs I cannot diſcommend thy fear, there being no friendſhip or intelligence common between us and the lions, tigers, bears, &c. of the foreſt. Yet I can tell thee, for thy comfort, that by long and aſſiduous practice, the fierceſt of theſe creatures have been taught

to converſe with men, to obey their commands, and to perform the parts of diligent ſervants, and faithful friends.

The wilderneſs will afford thee a fair opportunity of ſtudying the nature of plants and animals, the various alterations in the elements, the influence of the winds and rains, meteors and exhalations, with many other ſecrets which are hid from the greateſt part of men, who are buried alive in populous towns and cities, baniſhed from the familiarity of their mother earth, and moſt of her genuine products.

In the deſart, the unforced harmony of birds ſhall lull thy ſoul in innocent and grateful ſlumbers; the gentle winds ſhall waft immortal whiſpers to thy raviſhed ears, breathing unutterable ſounds from paradiſe. The murmuring ſtreams ſhall warble forth their ſoft and ſweet eternal ſtories. All ſhall conſpire to ſerve thy contemplation, and to tranſport thy mind with ſacred ecſtaſies.

If after all this thou ſhall prefer the monaſtic enclofure, follow thy reſolution, and be happy. Only remember, that though thy body be ſhut up within thoſe walls, yet if thy mind ſtraggle in vain and worldly thoughts, thou art no longer a recluſe. Adieu.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXII.—*To the* CAPTAIN BASSA.

If all be true that I have reaſon to ſuſpect, thou wilt find a warm divertiſement at ſea this ſpring. Though the Europeans have ſeemed ſlow in their preparations to aſſiſt the ſtate of Venice, ſuffering their ſeparate intereſts to ſuperſede the care of that republic, yet now they turn their eyes thither. Their backwardneſs hitherto is owing to the ſecrecy with which our ſage emperor meditat-

ed the preſent war. His counſels were never whiſpered out of the ſeraglio, till the ſame winds tranſported the news which wafted our invincible fleet to the ſhore of Candy. Now, they behold the ocean covered with the ſhips of the caſtern empire, fear ſurpriſes them; the princes of the Nazarenes tremble; they look no longer on the republic of Venice with the eyes of envy, becauſe of her pre-eminence in traffic, but with another regard: They conſider her as the bulwark of Chriſtendom, the only bank which has hitherto ſtemmed the tide of the Ottoman puiſſance, and ſtopped our victorious armies from overflowing all Europe.

I have informed the Reis Effendi of what I knew concerning the naval forces which are fitting out in ſeveral parts of the north and weſt to aid the Venetians; but I have not told him what the Chriſtians ſay of thee, neither am I willing to believe it. They ſpeak of thee as of a man not more difficult to be corrupted than was thy predeceſſor, who was ſtrangled by the order of the ſultaneſs mother. This cenſure, I hope, is an effect of their impotence; while they flatter themſelves with the imagination of bribing him, from whoſe courage and fortune they can expect nothing but defeats.

They truſt much in the force of thy birth and education, and diſcourſe of a certain magical character, imprinted in thy ſoul when thou waſt baptized, which they ſay, is indelible. And they promiſe themſelves, that thy native Chriſtianity has more influence on thy heart than forced circumciſion; and that thou wilt not fight with any zeal againſt men of the ſame principle as thoſe who gave thee thy breath. But they confide more in the charms of their gold, with which they deſign to bribe thee. In fine, they drink healths to the honeſt renega-

do; so they term him who commands the whole fleet of the Ottoman empire.

I do not give credit to these calumnies, having good grounds to boast of thy integrity. However I counsel thee, by some extraordinary service to thy master, to give the lie to these infidels: And suffer not that, which at present may be but a bare suspicion, to be improved, by thy neglect or cowardice, into a palpable evidence, that thou art false and perfidious to the supreme lord of the globe.

Paris, 6th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXIII.—*To* ADONAI, *a Jew, at Venice.*

Now thou art fixed, it is time to write to thee. Thou hast been a rambler these three or four years, and nobody knew where to find thee. I have received eleven dispatches from thee since thy first departure from Genoa, wherein thou hast informed me of many passages of state. Now I desire thee to send me some remarks on the different nature of the people thou hast seen, their various customs and laws, with whatsoever was worthy observation in thy travels.

Italy is a fair field, yet produces darnel as well as wholesome corn; it is a beautiful garden, yet bears aconite intermixed with her roses; great virtues, and no less vices. This region is famous for the wisdom of its inhabitants, and for their proverbs; it is the Arabia of Europe, in many senses, yet much lessened in its renown since the decline of the Roman empire. The Goths and Vandals turned all into deserts where they came, and have left such impressions of their northern barbarism behind them, as made the people they conquered half savages. Hence came the general decay of learning and

knowledge in theſe weſtern parts; hence the corruption of ancient manners. The great, the noble, and the wiſe, bowed under the yoke of their new maſters, learned their faſhions, and gloried in their ſhame. Their examples influenced the vulgar; debauchery became modiſh and authentic. Thus a general depravation of priſtine integrity took place, and men became vicious by a law.

Neither has wickedneſs planted itſelf only in Europe; the ſea could not ſtop this boundleſs evil. Aſia is infected alſo, and the vice of Italy is tranſported to the empire of the true believers. Thou haſt ſeen all the chief cities between the Alps and Rhegium, which is the utmoſt angle of Italy, to the ſouth; tell me whether Sodom could exceed any of them in licentiouſneſs; we will not except even Rome the ſeat of the Chriſtians mufti. Theſe uncircumciſed have learned of thy nation to call the ancient philoſophers infidels; but, had any of thoſe ſages lived to ſee the abominations of the modern Nazarenes, they would have deſpiſed the faith which produced no better works.

Adonai put in practice the import of thy name; be lord of thyſelf, and if thou ſtumbleſt at the light of the muſſulmans, walk in that of Moſes, but ſhun the paths of the Chriſtians, for they are enveloped in darkneſs and grope at mid-day. Live according to reaſon and thou ſhalt be happy. Adieu.

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXIV.—*To* Mustapha, *Berber Aga.*

The preſent war of Candy is like to render that iſland as much the ſubject of the world's diſcourſe, as it was formerly famous for being the cradle of Jupiter. In

thoſe days it was called Crete, much celebrated in the writings of the Greek poets; afterwards it became a province of the Roman empire, then of the Grecians, next it ſubmitted to the Saracens. But in the time of the Chriſtian expeditions in Paleſtine, when Baldwin Earl of Flanders was crowned emperor of Conſtantinople, this iſland came into his poſſeſſion, which he gave to a certain valiant commander in his army, a man of a noble deſcent, of whom the Venetians purchaſed it, and in their hands it has continued ever ſince. But now, in all probability, it will be the prize of thoſe arms which nothing ſublunary can reſiſt.

The poſts from Italy and the ſea-coaſts of this kingdom confirm each others news; all agreeing, that notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Venetians and Candiots to hinder the relief of Canea, yet our general is got into that haven, with vaſt quantities of proviſions, and a ſufficient reinforcement of men. They add, that forty thouſand of our ſoldiers have made a deſcent in another part of the iſland, have gained the forts of Ciſternes, Colmi, and Bicorno, and were on their march towards Suda, with a deſign to beſiege that place. They accuſe our general of barbarous cruelty, in that he cauſed five of the principal noblemen of that kingdom to be put to death, becauſe they refuſed to betray their country, or enter into the intereſts of the Grand Signior.

I muſt confeſs, magnificent Aga, that whatever may be ſaid in commendation of this general's policy and fidelity to his maſter, it is no argument of the goodneſs of his diſpoſition. I rather admire the temper of the Duke of Orleans, who, when Graveling was ſurrendered to him, juſt as he entered the town, was heard to ſay theſe words, "Let us endeavour, by generous actions, to win the hearts of all men, ſo may we hope for a daily vic-

tory. Let the French learn from me this new way of conqueſt, to ſubdue men by mercy and clemency."

Theſe are heroic ſentiments, and agree well with the character of this prince, who is ſaid never to have been the author of any man's death, nor to have revenged himſelf of any injury, yet a valiant ſoldier, an expert commander, and no bad politician.

It is not hid from the court, with what a matchleſs virtue he diſmiſſed a gentleman that was hired to murder him. This aſſaſſin was ſuffered to paſs into the duke's bed-chamber one morning early, pretending buſineſs of great moment from the queen. As ſoon as the duke caſt his eyes on him, he ſpoke thus: "I know thy buſineſs friend; thou art ſent to take away my life; what hurt have I done thee? It is now in my power, with a word, to have thee cut in pieces before my face; but I pardon thee, go thy way, and ſee my face no more."

The gentleman, ſtung with his own guilt, and aſtoniſhed at the excellent nature of this prince, fell on his knees, confeſſed his deſign, and who employed him; and having promiſed eternal gratitude for this royal favour, departed without any other notice taken of him; and fearing to tarry in France, entered himſelf into the ſervice of the Spaniſh King. It was his fortune afterwards to encounter the Duke of Orleans in a battle in Flanders. The duke, at that inſtant, was oppreſſed with a crowd of Germans who ſurrounded him, and in the conflict he loſt his ſword, which this gentleman perceiving, nimbly ſtepped to him, and delivered one into the duke's hands, ſaying withal, "Now reap the fruit of thy former clemency. Thou gaveſt me my life, now I put thee into a capacity to defend thy own." The prince, by this means, at length eſcaped the danger he was in; and that day

the fortune of war was on his ſide. The French had a conſiderable victory.

Thou ſeeſt by this, that heroic actions have ſomething divine in them, and attract the favours of heaven. No man ever was a loſer by good works; for though he be not preſently rewarded, yet in tract of time ſome happy emergency or other ariſes to convince him, "That virtuous men are the darlings of providence."

Thou that art near the perſon of the Grand Signior, mayeſt find an opportunity to relate this ſtory to him, which may make no unprofitable impreſſion on his mind. Princes ever ſtand in need of faithful monitors.

Adieu, great miniſter, and favour Mahmut with the continuance of thy protection and friendſhip.

Paris, 25th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXV.—*To* NASSUF, *Baſſa of Natolia.*

I RECEIVED thy letter as an argument of the continuance of that friendſhip which was between us, when we lived together in the ſeraglio. Since that time, thou and I have been employed abroad, in different ſervices of our auguſt emperor, who has now rewarded thy fidelity with a command, which, if it be not adequate to thy merit, is nevertheleſs agreeable to thy wiſhes.

I congratulate thy honour, and wiſh thee a gradual increaſe of it; for ſudden and violent leaps are dangerous. But our glorious ſultan diſcovers his abilities in nothing more eminently, than in adapting places of truſt to the deſerts and capacities of his faithful ſlaves; ſo that if he ſhould in time think fit to exalt thee to the higheſt dignity in the ſtate, we might, from the choice of ſo wiſe a prince, preſage thee a better fortune than befel one of

thy name, in the reign of Sultan Achmet III. who from a ſlave ſold in the market for three ſequins, was advanced to an honour too weighty for his virtue, being made Viſier Azem, and lord of the moſt delicious provinces in Aſia; but being ambitious of abſolute ſovereignty, he plotted treaſon againſt his maſter, which being diſcovered, the fatal firm was ſigned, and all his deſigns were ſtifled with a bow-ſtring.

By this thou mayeſt comprehend, how neceſſary it is for princes not to overload any man with dignities beyond the proportion of his humility and faithfulneſs. Yet rewards well placed, give new vigour to the endeavours of a ſlave; whereas, when good ſervices are ſlighted, it does but quench the ardour with which they were performed. Few men are ſo ſpiritual, as to do great and heroic things, purely for the ſake of internal complacency; and I doubt not but the Decii themſelves, in ſo freely ſacrificing their lives for their country, had regard to human glory. Even Seneca, whom one would take for the moſt mortified ſtoic of that age, by his writings, yet is conceived to have found more encouragement in the treaſures of gold, with which Nero's bounty had filled his coffers, than in all his morals, of which he had ſuch refined ſentiments and elegant expreſſions.

What I have ſaid, thou haſt wiſdom enough to apply to thyſelf, without being vain-glorious: Let thoſe who thou employeſt in any meritorious ſervices, and who diſcharge their truſt well, be encouraged with the ſame proportions of bounty. Munificence will not only add to thy glory, but alſo advance thy intereſt, ſince thou wilt ever have occaſion for thy ſlaves; and he who has once taſted thy liberality, as a reward for any eminent performance, had he no other motive than the pleaſure

of renewing ſo profitable an experiment, will freely hazard his life to ſerve thee in an extremity.

This method thou wilt find of no ſmall uſe to thee in the wars to which thou art going, where it will be neceſſary for thee to recompenſe the leaſt ſingular bravery of the meaneſt ſoldier, not only with applauſe, but with ſome preferment in the army. This will not only prove a ſpur to others, but even to the perſon ſo rewarded, and put him upon new efforts of courage, to attract the eyes of his munificent general. This will be the way for thee, in time, to have an army compoſed all of captains, or men qualified for ſuch.

Yet let not this diminiſh the ſeverity of that diſcipline, which is requiſite to retain a proſperous army in their obedience. I counſel thee to be ſtrict in requiring the leaſt military duty, and induſtrious in performing thy own part, which will be an example to the reſt; yet rather be forward to lead in labours than in dangers, in regard thou wilt be more ſerviceable in a battle, by thy counſels and orders, than by perſonally entering the combat. In all things, prefer the welfare of the Ottoman empire, to whatſoever elſe is moſt dear to thee, even to thy own honour, which yet ought to be dearer to thee than thy life.

If thou thinkeſt I have taken too much liberty to adviſe thee, accuſe thyſelf for having honoured me with thy friendſhip, which admits of no reſerves in converſation.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XXVI.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

IT is a vaſt diſappointment to the Venetians, that our general in Candy has ſo opportunely revictualled Canea and increaſed the garriſon there. Moroſini is blamed for this by thoſe that wiſh him no good. What will not envy ſuggeſt, when it beholds a man on the top of honour? This general, to give an enemy his due, is a man of ſpirit and true fortitude; neither courting nor ſhunning dangers in the ſervice of his country, but when once engaged in perils for that cauſe, he is fearleſs as a lion. If he has not hitherto had occaſion to give the ſtate ſo deſperate a proof of his loyalty, as once did the Roman Curtius (who bravely galloped into the bottomleſs chaſm to pacify their angry gods), yet he has often demonſtrated, that his courage and fidelity come not ſhort of the ancient heroes. In a word, he has done too much for the republic of Venice, to eſcape the ſpleen of other grandees. All muſt be generals, or the war will not proſper. Each man's ambition dictates this to the ſtate, that a man of conduct would ſoon expel the Turks out of that iſland; thus, in his conceit, laying a train for his own promotion.

Wouldeſt thou know Moroſini's crime, that excites all this paſſion? To ſpeak the truth, it was an overſight advantageous to the Ottomans. He put out with his whole fleet to ſea, and left the port of Canea open, by which means, three of our ſhips got in with plenty of proviſions; ſo that the town is now in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege, and the Venetians deſpair of ever recovering it; yet Moroſini has made ſo plauſible an apology, that the ſenate have acquitted him, not judging it conſiſtent either with juſtice or their intereſt, to ſuffer one miſcarriage, the effect of a fair intention, to outweigh his nu-

merous merits and ſervices; for the occaſion of his thus ſuddenly abandoning the avenue of that haven, was to chaſe ſome of our veſſels then under ſail not many leagues off; and the taking of thoſe veſſels, on board of which were abundance of ſlaves, juſtified to the ſenate the truth of his pretenſions. However, there are not wanting ſuch as ſay, he held a private correſpondence with our general; others, that the preſent governor of Canea had formerly taken captive at ſea a ſon of Moroſini's, whom he now offered to reſtore, in caſe he would withdraw his ſhips from before the haven for a few days. I know not how far this may be credited; but it is a certain truth that Moroſini has his ſon again, and he defended himſelf by pleading, that he redeemed him, by exchanging a Mahometan captive of equal quality, whom he had aboard his ſhip.

And thou knoweſt, that this manner of barter is lawful in war. Adonai the Jew ſends me this intelligence, and I dare believe him; for ſince the inſtructions I ſent him to Genoa, he has taken care to aſcertain his reports. I wiſh it were as true that Moroſini could be prevailed on to accept the friendſhips of the Sublime Porte; but the character of that general gives me no encouragement to hope for ſo fortunate a treachery from his ſevere virtue.

However, I will hope and believe, that the eternal patron of true believers, will give ſuch a happy iſſue to the Ottoman arms in Candy, and all other parts, as ſhall diſpoſe the Nazarenes that remain unconquered, to honour HIM whom they have hitherto deſpiſed and blaſphemed, even the prophet, who could neither write nor read.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XXVII.—*To* CARA HALI, *a Phyſician, at Conſtantinople.*

THE time of year is now come, wherein the earth turns her inſide out, and nature calls forth the hidden virtues of that element, to grace the world with an infinite variety of pleaſant forms and colours. The eye is loſt in ſuch a crowd of different beauties, and every ſenſe is raviſhed with delightful objects. The young men and virgins throng the fields, to behold the reſurrection of flowers and herbs; and the old feel new vigour ſpringing in their bodies, as though they had been in Medea's cauldron. Even Mahmut himſelf, who has drooped all the winter, now begins to lift up his head, and partake in the common reſtauration of all things.

If I am capable of gueſſing at the occaſion of my frequent ſickneſs, I believe it may in part be attributed to the want of freſh air in the place where I lodge. There is a vaſt difference between the ſtreets of Paris and thoſe of Conſtantinople. I ſeem to myſelf to be buried alive in this cloſe city, where my chamber window affords me no farther proſpect than I can ſpit; whereas, in Conſtantinople the gardens are ſo intermixed with houſes, that it looks like a city in the midſt of a foreſt, and by the advantage of its ſituation, is always refreſhed with breezes from the ſea.

Beſides the impurity of theſe infidels, who empty all their filth in the ſtreets, ſo that the dirt of Paris may be ſmelt ſome miles off, the uncleanneſs of their diet contributes in no ſmall meaſure to my diſtemper, being forced either to feed on fleſh with the blood in it, or live on herbs. They laugh at the niceneſs of the muſſulmans, who will eat no meat that was knocked down or ſtrangled. They ſeem to be greedy of blood, ſaving it in veſſels, and, mixing it with flour of wheat, make a certain

bread thereof, which they devour without the leaſt ſqueamiſhneſs. A true believer would tremble at the ſight of ſuch impiety. I tell thee it is impoſſible to live among them, and not be polluted: They have no methods of purification; they wallow and hug themſelves in their uncleanneſs; they are worſe than the beaſts.

Now the ſpring has provided a new banquet, wherein there is no impurity, I am reſolved to live like a muſſulman, and conform to the precepts of our holy Lawgiver, who, when he beholds my zeal and abſtinence, will ſend the angel of health from his paradiſe to repair my decayed conſtitution.

The French philoſophers are buſied in an inquiſition after certain kinds of birds, which, from the ſecond day of this moon, they ſay are not to be found in the whole kingdom, though the woods and fields were full of them during the winter. Some are of opinion, that they fly to the moon; aſſerting, that if their wings will but carry them beyond the magnetic force of the earth, it will be no pain to glide through the upper airy region till they arrive within the attractive energy of that planet, where they will naturally ſeek reſt. Others, with more probability, ſay, that theſe birds take their flight to ſome other region on earth, whoſe climate is more agreeable to their nature, at this time of year.

I wiſh I could as eaſily once a-year take my flight to Conſtantinople, where my heart is winter and ſummer. Adieu, dear Hali, and pity Mahmut, who counts himſelf unhappy in nothing ſo much as in being abſent from his friends.

Paris, 7th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XXVIII.—*To the* TEFTERDAR, *or Lord-Treaſurer.*

IT appears that France has ſome extraordinary deſign by ſea. When and where it will be put in execution is not yet known; but the vaſt preparations that are making, ſeem to threaten ſome foreign invaſion rather than a naval combat: It looks as if they had an expedition in hand greater than that of Xerxes, to make a bridge over the ocean, and join the ſeparated parts of the world together. New arſenals are built in ſeveral maritime towns, and all the foreſts are cut down to fill them with timber for ſhips of war; the mountains are left naked of trees, and the ſtately woods are tranſplanted into the havens. An infinite number of men are employed in making cordage, chains, bullets, anchors, ordnance, and all other neceſſaries belonging to a navy.

This is Cardinal Mazarini's project, under pretence of ſetting the poor of the kingdom at work, and diſburdening the commonwealth of vagabonds and idle perſons.—But Mahmut is not placed here to be amuſed with ſtate-umbrages. It is evident that this miniſter deſigns to render his maſter formidable on both elements. Agents are ſent to buy ſhips in all parts; and the very peaſants are forced from the vineyards and fields to man the greateſt fleet that ever this kingdom fitted out to ſea.

Laſt moon the Sieur de Queſne was ſent to aſſiſt Monſieur Chanut in purchaſing veſſels in Swedeland. It ſeems there had been ſome demurs in his negotiation; to remove which this latter was ſent with freſh inſtructions.—But Monſieur Chanut rejected him; and ten days ago came an expreſs from that miniſter, deſiring that a more intelligent colleague might be ſent him, in regard he found it difficult to treat ſucceſsfully with a people too much elated with continual victories.

Upon this the court have ſent a courier to Stockholm, with new orders, whereby he is forbid to make any farther overtures, in order to the continuance of the league between thoſe two crowns; that France may not always appear in a ſuppliant poſture, whilſt the Swedes ſeem careleſs to conſerve a friendſhip which they themſelves firſt coveted.

Theſe miſunderſtandings may in a ſhort time proceed to a greater alienation, and in the end to an open rupture; which has the more probability, in that General Koningſmark lately ſtopped ſome French troops in their march, under pretence of ſeeing their paſſports, but really, as it is thought, to corrupt the ſoldiers, and withdraw them from the fidelity they owe their ſovereign.

This is highly reſented here; and they begin to diſcourſe of making peace with Germany.

What the iſſue of theſe things will be is yet in the dark; but God, from whoſe throne hangs the chain of deſtiny, which reaches to the centre of the earth, will, I hope, ſo diſpoſe of all human events, that the quarrels of the Nazarenes ſhall miniſter occaſion to the Oſmans to increaſe the territories of our puiſſant emperor.

Paris, 1ſt of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXIX.—*To* NATHAN BEN SADDI, *a Jew at Vienna.*

I CANNOT but highly applaud the reſolution thou haſt taken, as thy letter intimates, to inquire into the grounds of the religion thou art of. This ſhows that thou ſetteſt a value on thy reaſon, and thinkeſt thyſelf beyond the pupillage of a child; that thou eſteemeſt thyſelf of years to make a choice of thy religion, and not to take it upon the bare credit of thy forefathers. It is certain,

that error may be traditional as well as truth; and the Pagan idolaters pleaded a greater antiquity for the altars of their gods, than could the followers of Moſes for the temple of Jeruſalem, the tabernacle in the deſart, or for the promulgation of the law itſelf on Mount Sinai; ſince there was ſcarce a region on the continent which had not eſtabliſhed rites and ceremonies of worſhip long before Moſes, or even Jacob, the great father of the Iſraelites, were born.

Amongſt the reſt of the nations, Arabia, my native country, was peculiarly bleſſed with the footſteps of the illuſtrious Ibrahim, grandfather to Iſrael, from whom the Jews deſcend. In this happy country that renowned prophet ſojourned, converſed with angels, and, with the majeſty which cannot be uttered, he preached the unity of the divine eſſence, converted the people from their idolatry, built an oratory at Mecca, and was taken up into Paradiſe.

Iſmael, his eldeſt ſon, and heir of his father's ſpirit, as of his territories, trod in the footſteps of the aſſumpt of God. He brake down the idols, aſſerted one God, the reſurrection, the day of judgment, the joys of paradiſe, and the torments of hell. His offspring multiplied, and peopled all the eaſt; the princes of this holy line ſubdued the infidel nations, and rooted themſelves in the moſt fertile regions of Aſia, profeſſing themſelves muſſulmans, or true believers. Thus paſſed the light of God from the face of Ibrahim to his poſterity, by ſucceſſive generations, till at length it reſted on the face of Mahomet, our holy lawgiver, and was increaſed with admirable ſplendour by the frequent viſits of the angel Gabriel. He took the root of evil out of the prophet's heart, brought him down the Alcoran from Heaven, and gave him victory and honour; called him by a new name, THE SEAL

OF THE PROPHETS; carried him to the throne of God, through legions of devils that waited below the moon to deſtroy him; and finally, made his ſepulchre glorious, and reſorted to by the believers of all nations on the earth.

I ſend thee this abſtract of the muſſulman hiſtory, to the end thou mayeſt ſee what pretenſions the children of Iſmael have to the true law, which you of the poſterity of Iſaac would monopolize to yourſelves; as if God had not ſent prophets to all nations, to lead them into the right way, and not into the way of infidels. Nevertheleſs, take not theſe things on my credit, but examine the records of thy own nation, and the hiſtory of paſt times. Weigh all things in the balance; conſult thy reaſon, which is an indeficient light to thoſe who follow it. Your law was once pure and uncorrupted; but in time the devil inſerted many errors: He ſeduced your fathers; they returned upon their ſteps, and fell back into idolatry. Then God raiſed up the Meſſias, to reform all things; but Him ye rejected; and when he was taken up into paradiſe, ye reported, "That he was hanged on a tree." In this the Nazarenes are your fools, and fight againſt themſelves; whilſt they aſſert, as you do, that he who is immortal and triumphant among the hundred and twenty-four thouſand prophets, "was crucified between two thieves;" thus bringing a reproach on the apoſtle of God, and on their own faith, in believing things inconſiſtent with the goodneſs and power of the divine majeſty. Without doubt, Jeſus the Son of Mary, is aſcended body and ſoul into paradiſe; who, whilſt he was on earth, ſaid, "Worſhip one God, your Lord and mine."

Let me not ſeem importunate or troubleſome. I ſeek not to circumvent thy reaſon, but to direct it. Think ſeven times before thou change once. I will procure the

books of our law; peruſe them with judgment, and tell me then, whether thou haſt ever ſeen any writing comparable to the Alcoran: The majeſty of the ſtyle ſpeaks it above human original; it is exempt from contradiction from the beginning to the end; it confirms the Old Teſtament, which thou believeſt; it is all over clothed with light; doubtleſs it is no other than a tranſcript of the book written in Heaven.

If after all thy ſearch thou ſhalt determine otherwiſe, follow thou thy law, and I will follow mine. We both worſhip one God, Lord of the univerſe.

Paris, 10th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXX.—*To the ſame.*

Let not the fear of diſpleaſing thoſe of thy nation hinder thee from embracing the truth. God ſhall protect thee from the malice of unbelievers. Thy intereſt is already great among the muſſulmans; our auguſt emperor will augment both that and thy honour. Take hold of the ſtrongeſt knot, and adhere not to Tagot. The cleanlineſs and delicacy of the muſſulmans may invite thee, which far exceeds that of the Jews, and yet is void of ſuperſtition: We only obey the ſincere dictates of nature, which teach us, that ſo long as the ſoul dwells in this manſion of fleſh, it partakes of bodily pollutions. It is to avoid theſe we abſtain from certain meats and drinks, which cannot be touched without contamination. To this end, do we obſerve that ſuperlative niceneſs in our waſhings and purifications, which diſcriminates us from all the world beſide. Doubtleſs, our law is but the law of Moſes, refined and ſublimated from the dregs of adventitious error.

Write often to me, and whatever reaſons may prevail on thee not to change thy religion, let no arguments tempt thee to ſwerve from thy fidelity to the ſovereign of ſovereigns on earth, the Grand Signior, in whoſe veins runs the moſt exalted blood of the human race.

Here is a report in this city, that the Elector of Brandenburg will demand the Queen of Sweden in marriage. Let me know if it be true, that I may inform the miniſters of the loſty Porte, from whom nothing ought to be concealed that occurs of moment betwixt the two Poles.

Inform me alſo what paſſes remarkable in the aſſembly of the deputies at Munſter, and whether it be true, that the Danube has lately overflowed its banks, and carried away four hundred houſes in its rapid courſe.

Such ſtories are told here, by thoſe who know not how to paſs away their time, but in hearkening after foreign news, to furniſh themſelves with matter to amuſe the credulous, and beget admiration of their intelligence.

I have ſent thee a watch of my making; if thou acceptest it with good will, it is a ſufficient acknowledgment.

May God, whoſe preſence fills the univerſe, diſcloſe himſelf to thee, in the way of ſalvation, and continue to breathe good motions into thy ſoul.

Paris, 10th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XXXI.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

ADONAI the Jew has much improved himſelf in his late progreſs through Italy. He is grown a perfect ſtateſman, having found out the way to penetrate into ſecrets, and to diſpatch buſineſs without any noiſe. He may

prove very ſerviceable at Venice, during the preſent war of Candy. His acquaintance in that city gives him acceſs to the cabals of the ſenators, who ſpare not, over their wine, to whiſper the counſels of the ſtate, and to deſcant upon the meaſures that are taken to defend the republic againſt the invincible proweſs of the Ottoman armies.

It is publicly known, that they have ſent ambaſſadors to the crown of Muſcovy, that of Poland and to the Coſſacs, inviting them to enter into a league againſt the Grand Signior. But few are acquainted with the private treaty they are making with the baſſa of Aleppo. We owe this diſcovery to the diligence and wit of this ſon of Iſrael. He has drawn the ſecret from the mouths of ſeveral eminent counſellors of ſtate; and aſſures me, that the ſenate have made ſuch propoſals to the governor, as cannot fail of inducing him to revolt.

This may prove of ill conſequence, if not timely prevented; the pernicious example of this baſſa, may incite others to tread in his ſteps, eſpecially his neighbours of Sidon and Damaſcus, who have for a long time meditated a ſovereignty, independent of the throne which firſt eſtabliſhed them in thoſe charges. Beſides, the ſingle forces of this baſſa will be able to give a powerful diverſion to the arms of the empire already engaged in Candy, Dalmatia, and other parts, by ſea and land. He ſays, the Venetians ſpeak much in praiſe of this baſſa's juſtice, whereof they relate many examples; among the reſt, a certain cook among the Franks of that city, was accuſed of dreſſing and ſelling putrified fleſh, whereby many that eat thereof were infected with the plague. Complaint being made of this to the baſſa, he ſends for the cook and examines him about it; he replied, that he ſold none but good and wholeſome meat, for if it happened, that

at any time he was forced to keep any flesh in his house above three days, he so seasoned it with spices and herbs, as made it very savoury, and without any ill scent.

The bassa not having patience to hear any more of this fetid apology, commanded his arms and legs to be cut off, and the veins to be seared up; ordering, that during the short time he had to live, he should have no other food but what was made of his own limbs.

They relate one more passage, of a complaint that was made by a peasant, whose daughter this bassa's only son had ravished. The bassa compelled him to marry her, with this charge, "Let me hear no more complaints of thee, unless thou art resolved to leave me without a son."

It is reported here, that the King of Persia has made a peace with the Great Mogul, and that they will both turn their forces against our august emperor.

Here is also a courier arrived from Marseilles, who brings news of the revolt of Cavarra; the inhabitants of that place having shaken off the obedience they owe to the sultan, and put themselves under the protection of the Venetians; and that General Grimani has taken four ships of Ragusa, laden with ammunition for our army. He adds also, that Morosini has thirty small vessels, besides galleys, under the very walls of the Dardanelles. I long ago suggested to the Visier Azem, that the weakness of these castles would one time or other encourage the Christians to perform some notable exploit in the Hellespont. But Mahmut's counsel was not regarded. Now the event justifies my advice, the Porte will consult the security of that avenue. I wish they do not practise the Trojan wisdom. The Venetians have a powerful fleet: If they block up the Hellespont, and hinder our ships from sailing into the Archipelago, and the

Coſſacs, in the mean while, cover the Black Sea with their barks, committing a thouſand piracies and ravages, what will become of the imperial city? Whence will they provide ſuſtenance for ſo many millions of people as inhabit that city, and the parts adjacent?

Theſe things are worthy of conſideration; and thou who haſt the care of that capital ſeat of the Ottoman empire, wilt not blame Mahmut for putting thee in mind of the danger which threatens even the ſeraglio itſelf at this juncture. However, I have done my duty, ſage miniſter, and refer the reſt to thy wiſdom. My letters are all regiſtered; and if affairs ſhould ſucceed ill, it will be manifeſted, that Mahmut, who watches night and day to ſerve the great maſter of the world, has not been wanting to give timely notice of what might be advantageous to the monarchy of the true faithful.

Thou, who art celebrated for thy juſtice and probity, pardon the liberty which my zeal for thy maſter and mine renders worthy of excuſe.

Paris, 19th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## BOOK II.

### LETTER I.—*To the moſt Magnificent and Illuſtrious* VISIER AZEM, *at the Porte.*

OSMIN the dwarf, whom I formerly mentioned, remains ſtill in the court, and continues his good offices in communicating to me ſuch paſſages as come to his knowledge. He has a ſubtle wit, and bears no hearty love to the Chriſtians, though he be one himſelf in profeſſion.

He frequently viſits me, and truſts me with his ſecrets. One day he convinced me by evident circumſtances, that Cardinal Mazarini was projecting to give ſome ſecret and ſudden blow to the Ottoman empire, for which Ofmin ſeems to be concerned by a natural inclination, being, as I told thee, born of Mahometan parents; he was uneaſy, till he had acquainted me with his apprehenſions; and I gave him ſuch inſtructions as I thought moſt proper on this occaſion. I ſet my thoughts on the rack, to prevent ſo dire a miſchief; and having premeditated well on this affair, I pitched on a courſe which would at once clear me from the cardinal's ſuſpicion, and by ſeeming to favour his deſigns, would abſolutely overthrow them. I went to him boldly one day, and being admitted to his cloſet, I thus addreſſed that politician:

"THERE are now nine years elapſed, great miniſter, ſince I firſt breathed the air of France, during all which time I have not only ſhared in common with the natives, the benefits which have accrued to this noble kingdom, under the auſpicious miniſtry of Cardinal Richlieu, and his no leſs eminent ſucceſſor, but have alſo received many particular honours from that illuſtrious prince of the church, to which your eminence has been pleaſed to make ſome undeſerved additions. It is to you both I owe the character which has introduced me into the acquaintance and favour of the nobility, who on that ſcore have thought me worthy to inſtruct their children in the Greek and Arabic tongues, have vouchſafed to admit me to their ſalt, and to encourage me with the hopes of finding a comfortable repoſe in the boſom of the Gallican church, after a tedious peregrination from my own country.

"When I reflect on all the accumulated bleſſings I

enjoy, under the protection of your eminence, bleſſings equally tranſcending my ambition as they do my merits, I apply all my ſtudies, to find out ſome acceptable way of acknowledgment to my gracious benefactor: And becauſe nothing can be more welcome to the guardian of France, than the means of advancing the public good of the kingdom committed to his care, I now preſume, as a teſtimony of my gratitude, to propoſe to your eminence ſome ſpeculations, which, if put in execution, will, in my judgment, not only render France the moſt formidable and abſolute monarchy on earth, but alſo the whole Catholic world in eternal obligations to her, and give juſt reaſon to change the ſtyle of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, from Eldeſt ſon of the Church, to that of Father of all Chriſtendom.

" Your eminence will not wonder at the zeal of a ſtranger, or the care that Titus of Moldavia takes for France. In being ſolicitous for this kingdom, I conſult the welfare of my own country, and of all the nations which profeſs the faith of Jeſus; ſince it is eaſy to ſee, that in the fate of France, that of all Europe is involved.

" It is a long time ſince the diſmembered relics of the Roman empire bordering on Aſia found themſelves too weak to reſiſt the puiſſance of the Ottoman arms. All Greece was ſoon overrun by the warlike Turks. Tranſylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, with the greateſt part of the Upper Hungary, quickly became tributaries to the inveterate enemies of the Chriſtian name; and Germany itſelf is ſo enfeebled by their repeated incurſions, that all the emperor can do, is to make diſhonourable and coſtly compoſitions, buying a precarious peace with little leſs charges than would ſerve ſome more fortunate prince to carry on a glorious and ſucceſsful war. Neither is the

ſtate of Venice in any better condition of defence, the Turks having pared away whole provinces from that once flouriſhing commonwealth, and by their continual invaſions and hoſtilities, reduced her to a neceſſity of merchandiſing with the Ottoman Porte for peace, which is no ſooner concluded, but on the leaſt pretence is broke again by thoſe who hold themſelves not obliged to keep faith with Chriſtians. Behold at this time, without provocation on the part of Venice, or a declaration of war by the Grand Signior, the late league broken on a ſudden, and in a moſt clandeſtine manner: Behold, Candy environed with their fleet by ſea, and her fertile plains covered with armies of Mahometans by land. Behold her cities in the hands of her enemies, and her villages laid deſolate, her nobles put to the ſword, and her merchants led into captivity. In fine, behold this afflicted commonwealth yet ſtruggling with her fate, and ſending her ambaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of Chriſtendom, demanding, or rather, in a ſuppliant manner, imploring their aſſiſtance; yet ſhe finds little or no help from any but the Pope and the knights of Malta; and his holineſs has enough to do to preſerve the patrimony of the church from violence. The ſtate of Genoa is too intent upon her traffic, to regard the calamities of her neighbours; and all the princes of Italy have ſuch diverſions at home, as render their application to things abroad very cold and indifferent. In the mean while, the Turks gain ground, double their ſtrength, and increaſe their victories! O deplorable ſtate of Chriſtendom! Is there no redreſs for theſe miſeries? Yes, ſurely there is! and ſuch a redreſs, as only lies in your power, great miniſter, to apply; which, in the experiment, I dare aſſure will prove effectual.

"I do not pretend to the viſions and inſpirations of

Peter the Hermit, who garbled ſecular and divine offices, and arming himſelf in habiliments of ſteel, went dragooning up and down Chriſtendom, at the head of a confuſed rabble, to render himſelf popular, and acquire the triple character of pilgrim, prieſt, and captain. The ill ſucceſs of his raſh expeditions ſhowed, that he was only ſtung with a religious caprice, and that God approved not his folly. I do not go about to propoſe another cruſade, or contrive a way to ſhed whole deluges of human blood, with no other conſequence, than to ſtain hiſtory with the ſanguine memoirs of Chriſtendom's vanity and misfortune. Beſides, that would be found impracticable, in this age, which was eaſy to put in execution five or ſix hundred years ago. The world is not ſo devout now, as it was in thoſe days; neither are men ſo prompt to run the riſk of their lives on religious errands, for the honour of being eſteemed martyrs. It will be difficult to find out a new liſt of Godfreys, Baldwins, Guys, and other heroes, to lead the champions of the croſs through all the hardſhips of ſea and land, ſo many hundred miles, into remote and deſolate regions, to combat not only with fleſh and blood, but with famine, peſtilence, and all the miſeries of human life; and, as if this were not enough, to ſheath their ſwords alſo in each others bowels, for punctilios, mere trifles of miſtaken honour, and ill-timed emulation; and all this only to purchaſe the empty title of King of Jeruſalem, or the precarious authority of a Grecian emperor; both ſhort-lived honours; the one to be loſt in a little time, with all Paleſtine, to the Saracens; the other depending only on the pleaſure of the multitude! Such were the glorious fruits of the Chriſtian arms in thoſe days! Such the triumphs attending our victories! Theſe the trophies which our fathers erected to their own diſgrace; when, after a war of ſo

many years, they left the Holy Land in a worſe condition than they found it; and of ſo many hundred thouſand men as marched thither, threatening the utter ſubverſion of the Saracen empire, there ſcarce returned enough to diſperſe the news of their own overthrow.

"Waving therefore theſe viſionary raſh expeditions, I now propoſe to your eminence an undertaking, which, though it may make leſs noiſe in the world, yet carries more probability of ſucceſs, and will not only promote the intereſt of France, but redound to the advantage of all Europe.

"No man who is acquainted with hiſtory, can be ignorant what claims the Kings of France have made to the empire of the weſt ſince the days of Charlemaigne, the royal predeceſſor of his preſent majeſty, who was dignified with the imperial title by the ſovereign biſhop. Neither is it unknown, by what artifices the Houſe of Auſtria have procured the tranſlation of this ſacred authority to their own family.

"Your eminence is ſenſible by what tyrannous and unjuſt methods they have maintained themſelves in this higheſt pitch of human glory; and not content with this, how they have aſpired after the monarchy of the whole world. All the north have groaned under the burden of their inſupportable tyranny; and their encroachments on the ſouth, have rendered that line little leſs infamous. They ſpare neither civil nor eccleſiaſtical rights, in the purſuit of their ambition, not even the patrimony of St. Peter, which has ever been eſteemed ſacred and inviolable by Chriſtian princes. They have ſacked Rome itſelf, and led the ſupreme paſtor of the church into captivity. What ſhould I ſpeak of the Hollanders, Switzers, Griſons, and other nations, which, impatient of the Auſtrian yoke, revolted from their cruel maſters, and

have ever ſince aſſerted their liberty by the force of their arms? What ſhould I mention the frequent troubles in Bohemia, Tranſylvania, and Hungary, when the inhabitants of thoſe countries, grown deſperate with their daily oppreſſions, have bravely endeavoured to redeem themſelves and their poſterity from perpetual ſervitude, but for want of a powerful protector, have been forced to yield to their old maſters? That inceſtuous race are grown odious to the whole world; even the princes of the empire are forced to ſmother their reſentments, when they elect one to poſſeſs the imperial diadem whom they cannot but hate.

"That therefore which I aim at in this addreſs, is, to repreſent to your eminence, how eaſy it will be in this juncture, for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty to recover the imperial crown, which of right belongs to none but the ſucceſſors of the renowned Charlemaigne; and which even the greateſt part of the Germans themſelves wiſh to ſee placed on the head of Lewis XIV. Moſt of the electors are already inclining to the intereſts of France: It will not be difficult to win the reſt. The Hungarians, &c. long for a deliverer; and the other provinces beyond the Danube, will freely open the gates of their cities to let in his armies, whom they look on as the hope of all Chriſtendom. The Helvetians, who are allies of this crown, will not fail to perform their part. The Swedes have already plucked many feathers from the ravenous eagle; and the forces of this crown have blunted her talons. Another campaign will quite deplume her, enervate her laſt vigour, and end the tedious controverſy.

"Let not therefore an untimely peace with the emperor, ſo much talked of, ſtop the current of the French triumphs! Let not the ſmiller practices of German pen-

ſioners in the Swediſh court, occaſion a rupture between two the moſt potent and victorious crowns in Europe! Or rather, let not Queen Chriſtina reap the ſole glory of ſo fortunate and profitable a war! His majeſty has a formidable army by land, and in a ſhort time will have an invincible fleet by ſea. Continual victories court the perſeverance of the French valour, whilſt the juſtice of your cauſe invites to the battle.

" All things conſpire to put a period to the Auſtrian grandeur. Only ſnatch the preſent opportunity, which, once loſt, may never be recovered again. It was only the ſudden and unexpected fate of Henry IV. this king's grandfather, of eternal memory, that hindered him from putting in execution the ſame deſign I now propoſe; and if Lewis XIII. did not proſecute it, it was becauſe he wanted a favourable juncture. Now, behold it offers itſelf; it is in your power, ſupreme director of the ſtate, under his majeſty, to build the fortune of France ſo high, that all the nations of Chriſtendom may repoſe under its ſhadow. Purſue the ſucceſs which Heaven has already granted; and when all Europe is thus ſettled in a durable peace, either making honourable friendſhips with, or entirely ſubmitting to this new Gallic empire, then will be the time to call the Ottomans to an account, for the ravages and ſpoils they have committed in Chriſtian countries, and to carry our arms to the walls of Conſtantinople, and drive theſe barbarians back to their primitive rocks and deſarts, from whence they have thus long ſtraggled, to ruin the moſt deſirable provinces of Aſia and Europe, nay, and of the whole world.

" There is no other way but this, in my judgment, to ſtop the progreſs of the Turkiſh victories; ſince it is impoſſible to make a durable peace among Chriſtian princes but by conqueſt, I mean ſuch a peace as will inſpire them

with the reſolution, and put them into a capacity, to unite all their forces in a war againſt the Mahometans. As for the preſent condition of the republic, if their loſſes were greater than they are like to be, yet they will be inconſiderable, in compariſon of the mighty gain which will afterwards accrue, not only to them, but to all the Chriſtian nations, by advancing the French crown to that height of grandeur deſigned for it by fate. Hitherto the Chriſtian princes have only endeavoured to apply a remedy to the part particularly affected; from whence, if by fortune they chaſed the diſtemper, it ſoon brake out in ſome other member; whence it came to paſs that we loſt province after province, and the Turks are almoſt gotten into the heart of Europe. If therefore we deſign to drive them thence, it is neceſſary to follow this method, which will be found the only way to pluck this evil up by the roots.

"Go on then, moſt prudent and illuſtrious guardian of the crown, deſtined to command the earth: Go on, and lift up our great maſter to the wreath with which the tutelar angel of Europe is ready to environ his ſacred temples. Let not the German deputies at Munſter any longer amuſe you with feigned overtures of peace; but purſue the propitious fate of France, which waits to lead our armies to victories, triumphs, and glories, and to eſtabliſh a new empire in the world, to which all nations ſhall pay homage, and fly for protection."

Thou ſeeſt, illuſtrious and ſerene viſier, that I have uſed much flattery in this addreſs. It is a neceſſary vice in the court of France, where no Diogenes can have audience. It cannot be expected that I ſhould diſcover, by the cardinal's anſwer, what his ſentiments were of my

project. He is of a debonair humour, and will rather feign virtues to commend in another man, than put him to the bluſh by mentioning his real vices. This is an effect of his natural diſpoſition, which he is wiſe enough to improve to the ends of policy; there being no ſubtiler artifice to gain a popular eſteem, than by the reputation of a generous temper.

However, I think I ſaid nothing that could juſtly offend him, unleſs he were endued with the incommunicable gift of diſcerning hearts; for otherwiſe, at the worſt, he could but tax me with a loyal preſumption and miſtake, in propoſing things altogether impracticable.

Theſe were ſuch as thou wilt eaſily diſcern, when thou conſidereſt, that though they appear fair and eaſy in the attempt, as the circumſtances of Europe are at preſent, yet the revolution of a few moons may quite change the face of affairs: New and unthought-of difficulties may ariſe; the emperor may make a peace with Swedeland, the pope might interpoſe his mediation and authority, the aſſembly at Munſter might have a concluſion according to their wiſhes, the electoral princes might be more firmly faſtened to the intereſt of the empire; beſides, another campaign may prove as fatal to the French, as the former have been propitious. After all, if they ſhould find encouragement to begin this enterpriſe, and ſhould meet with anſwerable ſucceſs in the proſecution of it, yet a thouſand occurrences would emerge, to hinder them from enjoying their new gotten empire long, or from being able to maintain a war againſt the empire, whoſe ſubjects are infinite, and treaſures inexhauſtible.

If thou, who art the light of the Oſman monarchy, ſhalt approve of what I have done, my happineſs will be great; nevertheleſs thy reproofs will not make me miſer-

able, ſince they are arguments of thy condeſcenſion and favour.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

II.—*To* Ismael Mouta Faraca, *a White Eunuch.*

Thy letter is come ſafe to my hands, accompanied with a munificent preſent from Egri Boynou, who thou telleſt me is deprived of his eyes by the Grand Signior's order. I condole the calamity of my friend, yet accuſe not the juſtice of him who is maſter of us all. We are muſſulmans, and muſt not diſpute the pleaſure of Heaven, or the commands of our ſovereigns. It is an argument of their clemency, when they retrench their anger, and ſpare the lives of their ſlaves. The ſultan is merciful in a higher degree, in not extending his hands to the wealth of our friend, but has left that and his liberty untouched, whereby he is ſtill in a capacity of enjoying many pleaſures, which are denied to thouſands who have their ſight.

I do not write this, as if I were void of compaſſion toward my friend. I owe him ſtill the ſame affection, as when he was able to read the ſincerity of it in my face. But I would not have the loſs of his eyes abate the ſight of his ſoul, which is his reaſon. Let him remember, that a famous philoſopher has done that voluntarily to himſelf, for the ſake of a leſs interrupted contemplation, which is impoſed on our friend as a puniſhment. There is no outward diſaſter can hurt the optics of a mind guarded with patience, and ſhut up within the circles of its own light. Such a ſoul is impregnable againſt all the aſſaults of fortune, and triumphs over deſtiny itſelf.

Beſides, our beloved eunuch can ſtill converſe with his

friends, which is a privilege the deaf would almoſt give their eyes to enjoy. It is hard to determine which of thoſe two ſenſes would be miſſed with leaſt regret, eſpecially to a man, who, by his excellent voice and ſkill in ſinging, ſeems to be the very ſoul of muſic.

What is it in all this infinite variety of viſible objects that affects the eye with ſo refined a pleaſure, but the harmonious diſpoſition and ſymmetry of the parts, which compoſe the whole ſcene of the univerſe? And may not that pleaſure be tranſlated to the ear, when it receives the proportionate meaſures and exquiſite cadences of ſounds? Certainly muſic is no other than beauty to the ear, as beauty is muſic to the eye.

But our friend Egri needs not theſe encouragements; he underſtands the way to make himſelf happy, and has wiſdom enough to put it in practice.

The Grand Signior's fury is pacified. Egri lives: He has houſes and gardens; gardens repleniſhed with all manner of fruits and flowers to gratify his taſte and ſmell: He is maſter of much treaſure in ſilver and gold, and of many ſlaves. If all theſe cannot contribute to his felicity, he is maſter of himſelf, which is eſſential happineſs.

Thou who ſucceedeſt him in that honourable poſt, and guardeſt the avenue of the majeſtic chamber, where the addreſſes and ſupplications of all the princes of the earth are made at the feet of our auguſt emperor, watch thy ſenſes, and obey thy reaſon. Remember thy predeceſſor's fate, and forget not Mahmut: But above all things, forget not thyſelf. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

97927

## III.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

I am extremely ſurpriſed, and equally troubled, at the ſevere puniſhment which Sultan Ibrahim has inflicted on Egri Boynou. His ſucceſſor, Iſmael Mouta Faraca, ſent me the firſt news of it, but ſaid nothing of the eunuch's crime. Neither would I requeſt that ſatisfaction of a man, who derives a new luſtre from the tragical eclipſe of my friend, leſt my love ſhould have betrayed my diſcretion, and tempted me to utter that which is not proper for a ſlave of the Sultan's to expreſs. Our thoughts are our own whilſt we keep them chained up in our breaſts; but if once we ſuffer them to take air in words, they become another man's, who may make uſe of them to our ruin. I never had familiarity enough with Iſmael, to truſt him with reflections of this nature. Beſides, his own letter to me diſcovered too much freedom to be void of deſign, it being the firſt that ever paſſed between us; which for that reaſon ought to have been dictated in a ſtyle more reſerved. I ſet him a pattern in my anſwer, not letting a word eſcape my pen, which might ſpeak leſs reſignation to the will of our maſter, than tenderneſs for my friend's ſuffering.

But with thee I dare uſe greater freedom: My long experience of thy integrity will juſtify this boldneſs. Tell me, my Dgnet, was it not the blindneſs of Sultan Ibrahim's paſſion, which has robbed Egri of his ſight? Anſwer me without diſguiſe, Was it not ſome caprice of jealouſy? Was it not becauſe the maſter thought he ſaw too much, that the ſlave ſees not now at all? If that ſenſe was not judged criminal in Egri, why was it in particular puniſhed? But it is in vain to meaſure the cruel frolics of a ſovereign monarch by a rule, who makes his will a law.

The Chriſtians ſay, the Ottoman princes are butchers, and the whole empire ſhambles, where perſons of all degrees are ſacrificed to the luſt or paſſion of a tyrant. I tell thee, though I approve not the licentious tongues of theſe infidels, yet it appears too true, that ſo uncontroulable a power as the Eaſtern monarchs are inveſted with, prompts them to commit many violences, for which juſtice can make no plea. It were to be wiſhed, that the practices of the ſublime ſeraglio did not too often verify it. Suffer me to be exaſperated a little for the cruel ſentence executed on my friend, the moſt accompliſhed perſon within the walls of that magnificent palace. Doubtleſs, he owes the loſs of his eyes to the grudge of ſome envious minion, who would not brook ſo dangerous a rival in the ſultan's favour; for this unfortunate eunuch, who charmed all hearts, had made ſome impreſſion alſo on the cruel Ibrahim's. He often loved to hear him ſing the lively Doric ſtrains to chaſe away his melancholy; for Egri is a ſecond Orpheus, whoſe voice, thou knoweſt, inſpired the trees and rocks with paſſion. Beſides, he has many other gifts, which rendered his perſon and converſation delectable to all, and taught the whole ſeraglio new leſſons of Platonic love.

When thou haſt received this, I deſire thee to give him a viſit. Thou knoweſt his houſe at Galata. Embrace him in my name, and give him a kiſs of faithful friendſhip. Forget not alſo to return him my acknowledgments for the diamonds he ſent me; and cheer him with this thought, that one day his eyes ſhall be renewed in paradiſe, far brighter than thoſe glittering jewels. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon of the Year 1646.

## IV.—*To* Dichieu Hussein, *Baſſa.*

It is not eaſy to gueſs at the motive which induced the Duke of Orleans to begin this year's campaign in ſo rigorous a ſeaſon. It was the firſt moon, and the ground was covered with deep ſnows (an ill time to march in an enemy's country); and when theſe ſnows were diſſolved, floods followed. It ſeems as if he were thirſty of fame, and would acquire the character of a hardy warrior; reſolving to ſhun no fatigue which might advance the reputation of his arms.

The Duke of Enguien, ſpurred on with a glorious emulation, ſoon followed with another army, but by a different road. There are four mareſchals of France gone with them. Theſe early marches make a great noiſe.—But little of action could be expected, while the wary Flemings, knowing the paſſes of the country, and the force of the floods, have kept their winter-quarters, ſpending that time at eaſe, in preparing all things neceſſary for a more ſeaſonable campaign, which they have now begun.

In this the Spaniſh policy deſerves commendation, who would not expoſe the health and lives of their ſoldiers to unneceſſary rigours, but waited till the ſun had well dried up the unwholeſome damps of the earth, and ſhedding his benigner influence through the air, invited them forth into the field. But when I thus approve the wiſdom of the Spaniards, think not that I condemn the ſprightly genius of the French, who ſeem to approach neareſt the bravery of the muſſulman armies.

The action of a French officer was worthy of remark, who being ſent from the camp with letters to the king and queen, arrived at the court, the 24th day of the ſecond moon, whilſt the ground was yet frozen hard. Af-

ter he had delivered his meſſage, the chamberlain of the royal houſehold appointed him a lodging for that night in the king's palace, he being to return to Flanders the next day. But he generouſly refuſed it, ſaying, "It became not him to lie in a bed of down, when his general, with the whole army, were forced to ſleep on the frozen earth. Therefore, cauſing ſome ſtraw to be brought out of the ſtables, he took his repoſe thereon in the open air. The young king, extremely pleaſed with his gallantry, ordered him an hundred pieces of gold, and recommended him to the Duke of Orleans as one of the braveſt men in his army.

I ſwear by the whiſtling of the winds, and the ruffling of the leaves, that I honour ſuch virtue even in an infidel.

Paris, 20th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## V.—*To* KERKER HASSAN, *Baſſa.*

THY letter is come to my hands, with the preſent of kopha, which is ſo much the more acceptable, becauſe thou broughteſt it thyſelf from the valley of Admoim, the place of my nativity. It is an evident ſign that thou haſt not forgot thy countryman, in that thou condeſcendeſt to oblige him in ſo peculiar a manner. The place where we drew our firſt breath is always dear to mortals; and the remembrance of that delicious vale affects Mahmut with ſingular delight. It is true indeed I was brought from thence before I could diſtinguiſh one place from another; but I have viſited that region ſince, and have reaſon to pronounce it the moſt delectable part of Arabia. Had the Grecian poets ſeen that paradiſe, they would not have ſo extolled the celebrated fields of Tempe in

Theſſaly. This happy vale is the elyſium of the world, bleſſed with an eternal ſpring.

Thou art highly obliged to the ſultan for the liberty he has given thee to viſit the place of thy cradle, and to ſojourn ſo long among thy kindred. Thy father was famous in that country for hunting of lions, and other beaſts of prey. I have heard ſome of our tribe praiſe his valour and dexterity in the chace of thoſe fierce animals. They told me, that in the ſpace of two years he had preſented the Beglerbeg with twenty lions heads killed by his own hand; that he had three tame ones in his houſe, which he had taken when whelps from a lioneſs of prodigious bulk; that the walls of his houſe were hung with the ſkins of tigers, panthers and lions, the trophies of his indefatigable diligence, ſkill, and courage, in purſuit of wild beaſts. In a word, they ſaid he was the moſt ſucceſsful hunter in all Arabia. If thou inherit his inclinations as well as his blood (for they commonly go together), thou haſt had a fair time to range the foreſts, and purge the deſart of thoſe ravenous creatures. Were it not for the enmity of the gnats, the caſt would be overrun with theſe ſavages. They ſay, this little deſpicable inſect deſtroys more lions than all the huntſmen in Aſia; for, ſwarming about them in the heat of ſummer, they chiefly faſten on their eye-lids, which they ſting ſo vehemently, that the lions, thinking to eaſe themſelves by ſcratching, often tear their own eyes out, and ſo are famiſhed.

To underſtand well the different natures of beaſts, is a ſtudy fit for kings. It was the glory of Solomon, to be accurate in this knowledge; and Alexander the Great had ſuch an eſteem for it, that he beſtowed on Ariſtotle the philoſopher eight hundred talents, only for writing a treatiſe of animals. Our Holy Prophet was eminent a-

bove all other mortals, for his familiarity with the brutal generations, underſtanding their qualities and language, and often diſcourſing with them. When he lived in the deſart, a libard continually waited at the door of his cave, and did all the offices of a kind and faithful ſervant. Such grace is given but to a few.

But I forget my own opportunity of venting my affections to my country and my friends. I forget that I am writing to one who is newly come from Arabia. Would to God I could ſee thee, were it but for an hour. I have a thouſand queſtions to aſk about my relations, and what changes have happened ſince I was there.

But I muſt ſacrifice theſe natural fondneſſes to the will of deſtiny. I am a double exile; and ſince it is for the ſervice of the Grand Signior, I am reſigned.

Adieu, happy miniſter; and if Mahmut may be admitted ſometimes to mingle with the train of thy better thoughts, he ſhall count himſelf happy wherever he is.

Paris, 2d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## VI.—*To* Hussein, *Baſſa.*

The taking of Retimo in Candy, has filled the Nazarenes with apprehenſions of greater calamities.

The firſt fortunate ſtrokes in a war, make deep impreſſions on the enemy, the vulgar looking on them as the index of their future deſtiny. But repeated ſucceſſes chill their vitals, bereave them of courage and hope, leaving them nothing but ominous portents, and ſuperſtitious preſages of their approaching ruin. So hard a thing it is to judge of human events, without being carried into extremes. They already give over the whole iſland for loſt. I wiſh and believe it may prove true.

Yet at the ſame time I know the fortune of war is uncertain, and another campaign may repair or revenge the damage they have ſuſtained in this and the former.

The Venetians loſt five thouſand men before the walls of that town, among whom was General Cornaro, the viceroy of the iſland, ſlain in the firſt onſet, beſides what were killed by our ſoldiers when they entered with the retreating Candiots, and ſacrificed all to the heat of martial paſſion.

But that which appeared moſt ominous to their cauſe, though the preſent damage were leſs, was the falling out of the ſopraveditor, and the proveditor of the iſle, who not agreeing about the extent of their different commiſſions, formed two parties, between whom there happened a furious encounter, in which four hundred were ſlain on both ſides.

Theſe ſiniſter events occaſioned the republic to make freſh applications to the court of France; and an ambaſſador is ſent from this crown to Conſtantinople, in order to mediate a peace. They call him Monſieur de Varennes, a man of a preſumptuous diſpoſition, and who delights to attempt difficult things. When there could not be found a perſon willing to undertake a negotiation which carries ſo little probability of ſucceeding, this gentleman, in a bravado offered himſelf; telling the queen, that he made no doubt of ſo repreſenting matters to the Grand Signior, as would infallibly produce a peace.

It had been eaſy for Cardinal Mazarini (whoſe counſel the queen follows in all things) to have hindered this man's voyage. But thoſe who are acquainted with the pique that is between them, conclude, that the cardinal conſented to his commiſſion, on purpoſe to lay a train for his future diſgrace; as knowing the boldneſs of his temper was far from being ſeconded with equal wiſdom

and conduct; and that, though he was prone to undertake great and hazardous actions, yet he never had the good fortune to accompliſh any thing of moment.

They that know this gentleman's character, ſay, that any example will encourage him to ruſh into labyrinths and perils; and where examples are wanting, he is ambitious to be made one himſelf. He fears not to tread in the footſteps of ſuch as have miſcarried in the moſt deſperate enterpriſes; but promiſes himſelf ſucceſs, where a thouſand have failed. In fine, he is eſteemed the raſheſt man living.

I ſend thee this deſcription of the French ambaſſador, that thou mayeſt communicate it to the ſovereign divan. It will be no ſmall advantage to know the temper and qualifications of foreign miniſters reſiding at the auguſt Porte, eſpecially at this juncture, whereon the fate of Chriſtendom depends. Beſides, there cannot be too great caution uſed to obviate the ſubtle trains of Cardinal Mazarini, who, I fear, is contriving no kind offices to the Ottoman empire.

I kiſs the hem of thy veſt, illuſtrious baſſa, and bid thee adieu.

Paris, 2d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## VII.—*To the ſame.*

THE captain baſſa has the reputation of a good ſeaman among the French. They highly applaud his expeditious relief of Canea, and no leſs commend the ſecrecy with which he landed his army, and took the town of Retimo. The French are generally great critics in military affairs, and are not ſo partial to the honour of the Chriſtians, as to deny the praiſes that are due to an ex

pert leader among the muſſulmans. Yet they are inconſtant, and ſeldom retain the ſame ſentiments long. Every circulation of their blood begets new friendſhips, new opinions, new cenſures. In this they ſeem to inherit the vices of the ancient Gauls, as well as their country.

A Roman emperor, who made war in this nation, has left excellent memoirs behind him; wherein, among other things, he deſcribes the nature of the Gauls, their diſpoſitions, and genial inclinations. He that ſhall read his writings, which were penned above ſixteen hundred years ago, and ſhall converſe with the preſent French, will eaſily conclude, that the latter are a living tranſcript of the former, and that their humours and actions are exactly copied from his words. Yet in nothing does the character of the primitive Gauls ſuit more truly to the preſent inhabitants, than in their furious onſets in a battle, and their equal readineſs to flight. Their firſt aſſault ſeems to ſpeak them more than men; their ſecond, leſs than women; and they ſeldom venture on a third.

Wilt thou know then, how they obtain ſo many ſignal victories? It is by ſtratagems and money. Where they cannot circumvent their enemies, they corrupt a party of them with bribes and penſions. Thus they purchaſe their conqueſts with a more powerful metal than ſteel. The force of gold, to which all things yield, lays cities and provinces at the feet of this invincible monarch.

But I pray Heaven ſo to proſper the armies of the empire founded on virtue, that this infidel prince, and all the Nazarenes, may experience their gold to be as ineffectual as their ſwords, againſt the valour and juſt revenge of the true believers.

Paris, 2d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

VIII.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI, *Sovereign Guide of the True Believers.*

THOU, who art all goodneſs, the arch-type of clemency and virtue, wilt not number me among the importunate, for ſo often troubling thee with diſputes of our holy law. I aſk thee no common queſtions, neither am I captious, ſeeking occaſions to darken what is apparent, or invalidate the teſtimony of him who touched the hand of God. I revere the holy oracles, and the book not dictated on earth. Every chapter I read in the Alcoran, makes me bleſs the angel who took ſo many flights to bring down the ſacred pages from heaven; and my reverence is increaſed towards that volume of glory, when I conſider it was not haſtily compoſed, every verſicle being the product of divine premeditation. Doubtleſs it excels all the writings in the world. No ſcripture, before or ſince, has approached to the myſterious elegance of thoſe celeſtial lines. Yet methinks I find a great profundity of wiſdom in the treatiſes of the ancients.

Thou wilt ſay, my ſtation requires me to read men more than books, being not ſent hither to contemplate, but to act for the intereſt of my maſter and the Ottoman empire. It is true, my buſineſs is now to unravel the deſigns of the infidels; but bear with me, if I tell thee, that in order to this I took no wrong courſe, when in my younger years I applied myſelf to books, which are but men turned inſide out, or metamorphoſed into letters; againſt whom, thus ſurviving themſelves, the ſtroke of death cannot prevail.

Thoſe who have erected ſtatues of gold, ſilver, braſs, or marble, to the memory of departed heroes, can but tranſmit the effigies of their bodies to poſterity, which thou knoweſt is the ignobler part of man; and herein

they come ſhort of the Egyptians, who have the art of preſerving the bodies themſelves incorruptible for a thouſand generations. But they who left their writings to poſterity, have obliged the world with an immortal and lively image of their mind: this is properly the man, and lives for ever, when the body is conſumed in the grave, and the ſtatue perhaps is eat up by time, or demoliſhed by envy.

Pardon this digreſſion, oraculous and unerring mouth of God. I have a great deal to ſay, and cannot comprehend it in a few words. It has been enjoined by our holy doctors, that a muſſulman ſhould not read the books of profane infidels. But tell me, thou who art the reſolver of doubts, whether this precept is extended to all without exception, or whether a diſpenſation may not be allowed to ſuch as read thoſe books with one eye, whilſt the other is fixed on the law, which balances the mind with truth? The Alcoran tells us, that the devil has inſerted ſome falſities in the beſt writings; but, is it not poſſible for a man to ſeparate the good from the bad? I read in the book of glory many remarkable things concerning Alexander the Great: But is it unlawful alſo to peruſe what has been writ by others, of the life of that famous warrior, and holy prophet? Both Grecian and Roman hiſtorians have related his adventures in Aſia, his battles with Darius the Perſian monarch, and Porus the Indian: they praiſe his continence and modeſt regard to Syſigambis and her daughters, when they were his captives; his inviolable friendſhip to Epheſtion, whilſt living, and the affectionate tears he ſhed for him after his death; yet they condemn him of cruel ingratitude, for ſacrificing Clitus to his choler, and the fumes of wine, who was a faithful friend, a valiant ſoldier, and once had ſaved his life in a battle. They cannot paſs over the burning of

Perſepolis, without ſome reflections on the unmanly ſoftneſs of this warrior, who, to pleaſe his concubine, gave orders that the faireſt and moſt magnificent city in Aſia ſhould be ſet on fire. The Perſians boaſt, that that city was built all of cedar; that Cyrus had wholly diſplanted, not only Mount Libanus, but the choiceſt nurſeries of that fragrant wood, through all Aſia, to build this glorious city, in emulation of Solomon king of the Jews, who was by other princes thought to value himſelf too high, for building the temple of Jeruſalem of the ſame materials. They add, that Alexander found in this city ninety millions of caracks in gold; that, after the debauch was over, and the flames had conſumed to aſhes this phœnix of Aſia, the conqueror wept, and commanded the money he had found there ſhould be expended in raiſing another in its room, more glorious than the former; but that Thais, who had perſuaded him to ruin it, was the only obſtacle to its re-edification; for ſuch was her empire over this monarch, that he could deny her nothing.

What I have ſaid of Perſepolis is recorded by Perſian hiſtorians; other writers make ſome mention of it, but not ſo particularly. There are ſome alſo who mention his demoliſhing of Tyrus, a city ſo ancient, that it is ſaid to be firſt built by one of the grandchildren to Noah, of whom thou knoweſt the Alcoran ſpeaks often. They tax him alſo with cruelty, in cauſing two thouſand of the chief Tyrians to be crucified as a ſacrifice to Hercules. Thou art beſt able to judge whether this be agreeable to truth; for what muſſulman will believe, that the victorious prophet was guilty of ſo barbarous an idolatry?

The method he took to ſubdue this impregnable city is an argument of his invincible courage, and that there is nothing impracticable to a mind armed with reſolution and perſeverance.

Tyrus was ſituated above half a mile in the ſea. When the Macedonian demanded a ſurrender, the citizens, truſting to the ſtrength and height of the rock whereon they lived (for it was a perfect iſland), and to their diſtance from the ſhore of the continent, bid defiance to him, whom God had ordained to ſubdue all nations between the extremities of India and the pillars of Hercules. The conqueror, inflamed at their refuſal of offered peace, prepares for an aſſault. He attempted, without the miracle of Moſes, to make a path for his army through the Sea. He followed the ſteps of the Babylonian monarch, who, not three ages before, had joined this proud neſt of merchants to the firm land. Twice his induſtrious ſoldiers raiſed a cauſeway above the waves to the very walls of Tyrus, and as often was their labour defeated by the watchful Tyrians; when the third time he proved ſucceſsful, and, in ſpite of all their reſiſtance by fire and ſword, after a ſiege of ſix moons, he ſcaled the walls of that queen of maritime cities, and convinced the world, that no human force could put a ſtop to his conqueſts, whom Deſtiny had appointed to chaſtiſe the nations of the earth.

That chapter in the Alcoran which ſpeaks of this renowned worthy, tells us, "That he marched ſo far eaſtward, till he came to a country where the ſun riſes." This paſſage the Chriſtians ridicule, ſaying, that the ſun riſes and ſets in all countries; and that there is no ſtated point of eaſt and weſt in the fabric of the world, ſince the ſame place which is eaſt of one country, is weſt of another. Thus the deſpiſers of our holy law cavil at the Alcoran, and ſay, it is compoſed of old wives tales, a rude indigeſted collection of eaſtern romances and ſuperſtitious fables, calculated for the meridian of ignorance, firſt promulged in the ſavage and unpoliſhed deſarts of

Arabia, and afterwards propagated by the ſword through thoſe countries, whoſe vices had baniſhed their learning, and rendered them flexible to a religion, whoſe higheſt pretenſions conſiſted in gratifying the ſenſes.

Theſe critics conſider not at the ſame time, that they argue againſt the Old and New Teſtament (which is eſteemed the Alcoran of the Chriſtians), wherein there is often mention made of the riſing and going down of the ſun, of eaſt and weſt, as proper points or marks from which to take the ſituation of countries. Aſſuredly in this they are captious; for though there be no ſtated point of eaſt or weſt in the globe, yet India being the neareſt region of this continent to that part of the horizon where the ſun daily firſt appears, it has, not without reaſon, gained the additional epithet of Eaſt. And it was here the Macedonian hero ſweat, becauſe he could conquer no farther, unleſs he would have begun a war with the fiſh of the ſea.

There are many other paſſages related of Alexander's temperance, moderation, juſtice, fortitude, and ſuch like virtues, and ſomething of his vices; but I will not tire thee with all that is ſaid of this invincible monarch, nor trace him in all his marches through Aſia. I will not trouble thee with what they ſay of his journey into Egypt, and aſpiring to be called the ſon of Jupiter Ammon; his being poiſoned at Babylon, in the height of all his triumphs; and the cantoniſing his empire among his chief captains. Whatſoever in theſe hiſtories is agreeable to the holy Alcoran, I acquieſce to; what is repugnant to that ſummary of truth, I reject as a fable.

Tell me, thou ſovereign reſolver of doubts, whether on theſe terms I may not read the writings of infidels? Books are relief to the mind oppreſſed with melancholy, and eſpecially hiſtories, which alſo bring profit, by right-

ly informing us of the tranſactions of paſt ages; ſo that things which were done thouſands of years ago, are made preſent to us. Where then is the crime in reading theſe memoirs of the ancients? Is it not conſiſtent with the faith of a muſſulman to read theſe hiſtories, becauſe they were penned by heathens? Muſt we reject all that the Pagans did or ſaid? Why then are the works of Plutarch had in ſuch veneration by the princes of our law? I tell thee, I not only read Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, Xenophon, Polybius, with many other hiſtorians that were pagans, but I improve by their writings. Such rare examples of virtue, ſuch illuſtrious patterns of juſtice, ſuch ſolid precepts of morality, as theſe authors abound with, cannot in my opinion hurt any man, who deſires to ſquare his life by the beſt rules.

I read alſo the poets, whoſe fables and parables ſeem to me but to veil many excellent and profitable maxims of human life.

The ſtory of the birth of Typhon, his warring with Jupiter, and his final overthrow, denotes the monſtrous riſe of factions in a ſtate, and their ruin.

The Cyclops being employed by Jupiter in making thunderbolts and killing Æſculapius, for which they themſelves were afterwards ſlain by Apollo, intimates the uſe which ſovereign princes make of cruel, covetous, and unjuſt officers, who, when they have fulfilled the pleaſure of their maſters, are abandoned by them to the revenge of the oppreſſed ſubjects. This is commonly experienced in all monarchies, and eſpecially in the mighty empire of the Oſmans, where the baſſas, though the Grand Signior, for the ends of ſtate, connives a while at their unjuſt oppreſſion of the muſſulmans under their government, yet in due time, to ſhow his abhorrence of their villanies, conſigns them over to the executioner.

Thou knoweſt to whom the bowſtring was ſent laſt; I wiſh his ſucceſſor may not equally merit it.

Actæon's being devoured by his dogs, only for ſeeing Diana in a bath, might have ſerved as a warning to Uſeph the black eunuch, who could not reſtrain his tongue from babling out the private amours of Sultan Ibrahim. It was danger enough to know the ſecret; but to divulge it, was a ſure way to incur the revenge of the prince.

Not much unlike was his error, who, though he did not report it to others, yet had the preſumption to check his ſovereign to his face, and reproach him with luxury. Had he been acquainted with the fable of Endymion and the moon, it would perhaps have taught him, that it is not the part of a favourite to take notice of his maſter's ſtolen pleaſures, but rather to invite him ſometimes from the toils of ſtate, and unbend his mind with recreations.

There are many other profitable remarks hidden under the fictions of the poets, which, though they may ſeem myſterious at firſt view, yet, being examined with a little attention, prove as eaſy to be underſtood, as the hieroglyphics were of old to the Egyptians, who knew no other letters.

God the firſt Intellect, who imprinted his mind on tablets of marble, in letters of Arabic, and writ the decalogue with a beam of his glory, having alſo inſpired all nations with the knowledge of letters, grant, that whilſt I read the records of the Gentiles, I may not forget the precepts of the Alcoran.

Paris, 23d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## IX.—*To* MURAT, *Beſſa.*

A COURIER came to this city laſt night, bringing news of the taking of Courtray by the French army. This is a conſiderable town in Flanders, and commands a great part of the country. The Duke of Orleans inveſted it on the ninth of the laſt moon, and on the eighteenth lay down before it with the whole army. The Spaniſh generals haſtened to its relief, and brought thirty thouſand men of ſix nations, to combat with the French; but they quarrelled about precedency of poſt. High words paſſed between the Duke of Lorrain and General Lamboy. Thus, while they ſpent their time in needleſs conteſts, the French took the town; and, having left a ſtrong garriſon there, part of the army commanded by the Mareſchal de Grammont is marched to join the Hollanders, with deſign to attack Antwerp; and the reſt follow the Duke of Orleans, who, they ſay, intends to beſiege Mardyke. This is a ſea-town that has nothing in it conſiderable enough to tempt a conqueror, ſave the haven, which is of great importance in thoſe ſeas.

We have had no rains here theſe three moons, which makes the people fear a famine. Proviſion of all ſorts is very dear; and thoſe who have great quantities of corn will not bring it to the markets. The fruits are all blaſted, and a diſtemper rages in the city, which fills all places with death and mourning; the cattle drop down dead in the fields, and the rivers are almoſt dried up; men languiſh and wither, as if parched up by ſome inward fire; fearful apparitions are ſeen in the air; each night brings forth new prodigies; the people lament the preſent, and preſage greater calamities to come;—while Mahmut perſeveres unmoved, and neither moleſts himſelf nor others about the inevitable decrees of deſtiny. I keep in the

path of my duty, without turning to the right hand or to the left; I ſerve the Grand Signior faithfully; I pray for his health, and for the welfare of the empire. I neither give alms to the infidels, nor do them any injuries. In fine, if I cannot reap any profit from other mens virtues, I take care their vices ſhall do me no harm.

It is ſaid there will be a proceſſion here ſhortly, whereat the king, the queen-regent, and the whole court, will aſſiſt barefoot, for an example of others. The body of a certain female ſaint, whom they eſteem the patroneſs of this city, will be taken out of the church where it lies, and will be carried with other reliques of ſaints through the ſtreets of Paris, to atone the wrath of Heaven, which ſeems to be kindled againſt them.

In the mean time, I pray Heaven to ſend down its bleſſings on the Ottoman empire, and preſerve the true faithful from the three ſcourges of God.

Paris, 23d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## X.—*To the* Aga *of the Janiſſaries.*

I perceive thou haſt followed the advice I formerly gave thee to read hiſtories, wherein thy letter ſpeaks thee very converſant. Thou wilt have no reaſon to repent of a labour that affords ſo agreeable a diverſion, eſpecially to a ſoldier and a ſtateſman. They open the graves, and call forth the dead, without diſturbing their repoſe, and preſent to us thoſe heroes living, talking, and acting great things, whoſe bodies have lain buried in ſilence and obſcurity many ages; they introduce us into the cloſets of princes, revealing their moſt ſecret counſels; they make us familiar with the intrigues of politicians, and the ſtratagems of warriors. In fine, there is nothing public

or private, in the courts or camps of the greateſt monarchs, to which an hiſtorian is a ſtranger.

I applaud the choice thou haſt made of Grecian hiſtories, and others of the eaſt; yet I counſel thee not to neglect thoſe of the weſt. The ancient Roman writers are full of rare examples; and modern France, which emulates all great and glorious undertakings, takes equal care to commit to poſterity the lives of illuſtrious perſons. I ſay not this in contempt of other countries in Europe. The Chriſtians of theſe parts in general are accurate hiſtorians. They are univerſally learned, in regard there is no kingdom in Europe where they have not ſchools and academies where all languages and ſciences are taught. The ploughmen in the field ſpeak Latin and Greek, which thou knoweſt are now grown obſolete, and no where to be learned but in books. The mechanics are philoſophers; and every man ſets up for an hiſtorian, or an antiquary. It was not ſo in former times, when the eccleſiaſtics had engroſſed all manner of learning to themſelves, except ſome few of the nobility and gentry, who had the advantage of patrimonial libraries, and leiſure to apply themſelves to ſtudy; for then it was difficult to purchaſe books, there being but few, and for theſe they were obliged to the labour of the ſcribe. Hence it came to paſs, that only ſuch as had plenty of money, and a ſtrong inclination to knowledge, monopolized the choiceſt manuſcripts into their hands, and bequeathed them as a legacy to their offspring. But ſince the invention of printing, books are infinitely multiplied, grown cheap and common; and thoſe hiſtories and ſciences, which before were ſhut up in the Latin, Greek, or ſome of the Oriental languages, are now tranſlated into the vulgar ſpeech of every nation, whereby the loweſt ſort of people, who can but read, have the privilege to become as

knowing as their ſuperiors, and the ſlave may vie for learning with his ſovereign. This makes the Nazarenes upbraid the true faithful with ignorance and barbariſm, becauſe printing is not ſuffered throughout the muſſulman empire. They conſider not the bad conſequences of this art, as well as the good, and that the liberty of the preſs has filled the world with errors and lies. Beſides, they are ſtrangers to the education of the muſſulmans, who are generally taught the Arabic and Perſian tongues from their childhood; in which two languages how many famous hiſtories have been written! There is no point of uſeful wiſdom which is not compriſed in the writings of the eaſtern ſages; and as for unprofitable treatiſes and pamphlets with which the Europeans abound, they are ſuperfluous and burdenſome, bringing a double loſs both to writer and reader, while they rob them of their time and money, and commit a rape on their underſtandings. Add to this, the fatal effects which this depraved indulgence of printing has produced in Chriſtendom. What ſacrileges, maſſacres, rebellions and impieties, have overflowed moſt parts of the weſt in this licentious age; what hatred among Chriſtians; what ſeditions among ſubjects, diverſities in religion, contempts of all laws, both divine, natural, and thoſe of nations. The vices, at which former times would have bluſhed, nay, at the very naming of which our fathers would have ſtarted, as at a prodigy, are in theſe days committed openly, without ſhame, without contradiction; whilſt there are authors who dare publicly aſſert the cauſe of impiety, and patronize all manner of profanations.

But thou, who haſt the honour to guard the incorruptible ſeat of juſtice and virtue, the bright throne of the Oſman emperors, who are the ſhadows of God on earth, haſt made ſuch a choice of books as commends thy

wiſdom, and the ſincerity of thy morals. Thou wilt not ſuffer thy imagination to be tainted with thoſe enchanting ideas of evil, which are drawn by the pens of ſome elegant writers: All that thou ſeekeſt in books is to inform thy underſtanding, rectify thy judgment, and inflame thy affections with the love of virtue. To this end, ſerve the divine precepts of our holy doctors, and other learned ſages; the writings of philoſophers, and the examples of renowned heroes. From theſe thou gathereſt ſtrength to practiſe the four maternal virtues, and all the good qualities that ſpring from thoſe roots.

Go on, and increaſe in the graces and accompliſhments which ſhall render thee worthy to be made the ſubject of a particular hiſtory; while the old ſhall recommend, and the young ſhall covet nothing more paſſionately than to read the life of Caſſim Hali janizar-aga.

Mahmut ſalutes thee with a kiſs of affection. Reverence thyſelf, and all men will honour thee. So taught Pythagoras.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XI.—*To the ſame.*

I HAD forgot to perform in my other letter what thou commandeſt me; yet knowing the eſteem thou haſt for women of virtue and rare endowments, and with what pleaſure thou readeſt their ſtories, I ſhould never ſend any diſpatch to thee wherein there is not a relation of ſome heroine. I will be more diligent hereafter to obſerve the diſpoſition of my ſuperiors, and will endeavour to procure a collection of the lives and characters of all the famous women that have been recorded in hiſtory. In the

mean while, hear what the French ſay of Chriſtina Queen of Swedeland, of whom thou requireſt a deſcription.

She is the only daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, the moſt victorious prince that ever governed that nation, and one of the moſt ſucceſsful warriors in the world. As his whole life was led in the field, ſo there he received an honourable death, being ſlain in the battle of Lutzen; ſome ſay, by the treachery of Duke Albert, who had in appearance deſerted the emperor, and offered himſelf a volunteer to Guſtavus Adolphus. I formerly mentioned this duke, and that he was killed by a Swediſh lady. If the ſuſpicion of the Swedes be well grounded, and that Duke Albert was really guilty of the murder of Guſtavus, it may be this was the motive which brought thoſe Amazons into the field to revenge the death of their prince. But it is impoſſible to be aſſured of the truth among ſo many different opinions.

When the French ſpeak of Guſtavus Adolphus, they cannot reſtrain their words on this ſide a panegyric. They ſay he was a prince above all praiſe. It is certain, his very enemies admired his inimitable courage and matchleſs fortune. I have ſent thee the true effigies of his face, wherein thou wilt ſee a moſt agreeable mixture of majeſty and benignity, creating reſpect and love at the ſame time in the beholders. He was ſo familiar with every one, as if he had forgot himſelf, as well as he was a ſtranger to pride. He was a great ſtudent in his youth, and made himſelf maſter of Latin, French, and Italian; being alſo perfectly ſkilled in ancient and modern hiſtories. He had a wonderful faculty in diſcovering impoſtors; a dexterous wit in time of danger and difficulty, being ready at counſel, and ſwift in execution, and as cunning at a ſtratagem as he was bold at an onſet. He was liberal to his officers, and to all men of merit; but

a ſevere puniſher of diſorders in his army; and that which crowned all the reſt of his virtues, his piety to God was ſingular and worthy of remark. The French relate a memorable ſaying of this king, when he was once in his camp before Werben. He had been ſolitary in the cabinet of his pavilion ſome hours together, and none of his attendants durſt interrupt him; till at length a favourite of his, having ſome important matter to tell him, came ſoftly to the door, and looking in, beheld the king very devoutly on his knees at prayers. Fearing to moleſt him in that ſacred exerciſe, he was about to withdraw his head, when the king ſpied him, and bid him come in, ſaying unto him, "Thou wondereſt to ſee me in this poſture, ſince I have ſo many thouſands of ſubjects to pray for me. But I tell thee, that no man has more need to pray for himſelf, than he, who being to render an account of his actions to none but God, is for that reaſon more cloſely aſſaulted by the devil, than all other men beſide."

Guſtavus was born in the year 1594, at which time they ſay, a comet was ſeen in the form of a ſword, with its point directed toward Germany, which the aſtrologers of thoſe times interpreted as a preſage of that king's warlike genius, and of his future conqueſts in the empire. He came to the government before he had ſeen full ſeventeen winters, and was cut off in the eight-and-thirtieth year of his age.

It is ſaid, that a few days before his death, when his ſoldiers received him with infinite acclamations, and all the marks of an unuſual and intemperate joy, he ſeemed to be troubled at it, ſaying, "That he took that exceſſive demonſtration of his ſoldiers love, for an omen of ſome approaching diſaſter; and that he was aſſured God

would, by taking him away, teach them, that there is no confidence to be repoſed in any mortal.

After the death of Guſtavus, the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembling, proclaimed Chriſtina queen, and during her minority committed her to the tutelage of five principal officers of the kingdom, who alſo took on them the whole care of the commonwealth.

She is perfect in ſeven languages, well verſed in ancient and modern philoſophy, and a complete hiſtorian. In fine, ſhe has acquired the title of the moſt learned princeſs of her time.

She is of a graceful and majeſtic aſpect, has a piercing eye, wears part of her hair looſe about her temples, and flowing down in curls to her ſhoulders; the reſt braided up behind in form of a wreath. Thus is ſhe repreſented by her picture, which I have ſeen in a gallery of Cardinal Mazarini's palace, who profeſſes a great veneration for this queen. Could I have purchaſed her portraiture, as I did her father's, I would have ſent it thee; but all the pencils in Paris are hardly ſufficient to ſupply the cloſets and galleries of the nobles with this admired figure. She is become the idol of the French.

Many great matches have been offered her, but ſhe refuſes all, either for reaſon of ſtate, or diſlike of the perſons, or an averſion ſhe has for a married life; or through oppoſition of her nobles, who ſeem to covet to be governed by a maiden queen. Soon after her father's death, the King of Denmark attempted to make her his wife; but his addreſs was abruptly rejected.

No better encouragement did the King of Poland lately meet with, who twice ſolicited the ſame thing for himſelf, and was as often repulſed. But this, it is thought, proceeded from ſome politic reaſons, he being deſcended of Sigiſmund, a former abdicated king of

Sweden; all whoſe poſterity are for ever excluded from enjoying the Swediſh crown by a law.

The Engliſh alſo gloried in a virgin queen the laſt age; her name was Elizabeth, whom thou canſt not but have heard of. She was the daughter of Henry VIII. king of that nation. She was a princeſs of an extraordinary genius, remarkable for her wit and learning. It was one of her ſubjects, who the firſt of all mortals ſailed round the globe; and by his fortunate ſervice, ſhe vanquiſhed the reputed invincible Armada of Spain. She governed her kingdom with ſuch exquiſite conduct, as made the greateſt potentates revere her wiſdom. It is to her bounty the United Provinces owe the riſe of their preſent grandeur and riches; when they addreſſed this potent queen in form of humble ſuppliants, intitling themſelves, "The Poor Diſtreſſed States." But now they are high and mighty, puſhing for an equality with ſovereign princes.

I cannot compriſe in a letter all that may be ſaid of this great queen. Beſides, hiſtorians vary in her character. Thoſe that ſpeak moſt impartially, ſay, that ſhe had extraordinary virtues, yet was not free from great vices. We muſt not expect in any mortal a temper exempt from the common malediction, much leſs in that ſex, whoſe natural weakneſs claims our indulgence and excuſe. It is admirable to ſee or hear of a female, whoſe active ſoul can diſengage itſelf from the common frailties of women, and perform things ſcarce below the power of maſculine virtue.

If thou thinkeſt my letter too tedious, accuſe thyſelf for commanding me to write of perſons whoſe uncommon gifts and tranſcendent virtues, the moſt accurate hiſtorians can but render in epitome, and the moſt dur-

able records of fame will injure, in not being capable to tranſmit them to eternity.

We ought not to contemn the excellencies of the Nazarenes, who, though they are unhappy in not knowing the Alcoran, yet they have a law engraven on their hearts, which, if they obſerve, they ſhall be in the number of the bleſſed.

I am no ſtranger to thy moderation and juſtice, being fully ſatisfied that thou honoureſt virtue, even in the moſt prejudiſed enemy of our holy profeſſion. Let the furioſos among the muſſulmans or Chriſtians ſay their pleaſure; thou and I ſhall be conformable to our holy lawgiver, in believing, that the innocent and good of all religions ſhall have no reaſon to tremble at the ſecond ſound of the trumpet.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XII.—*To the* Selictar Aga, *or Sword-Bearer to the Grand Signior.*

The Duke of Orleans is newly returned from the campaign in Flanders. He ſeems to be either tired with the fatigues of war, or at leaſt to be ſatisfied with his exploits this ſummer.

After the conqueſt of Courtray, of which thou haſt heard in the divan, this prince marched directly to Bergues, which he took after a ſiege of ſix days; then being joined by the Duke of Enguien's forces, he lay down before Mardyke. This town had been in the Spaniards poſſeſſion ever ſince laſt winter; now it held out to a miracle; but after a ſtout reſiſtance was at laſt forced to ſurrender. There were ſlain before it many of the chief

nobility of France. The French entered it on the four-and-twentieth of the laſt moon.

The churches here are hung with mourning, and the eſcutcheons of the heroes who loſt their lives in the bed of honour. The bullets, which know no difference between the noble and vulgar, ſeem in this battle to have been directed by art or envy, as if the flower of the army had been culled out for marks.

In a letter to Murat Baſſa, I gave an account of a grievous drought and mortality in theſe parts. Now Heaven ſeems to be pacified; and the angel of death has put up his ſword. Yet the ſcarcity of corn, and other neceſſaries, continues ſtill; only there is plenty of wine, which the poor, who have moſt need of it, abſtain from, leſt it ſhould enrage their appetites, already ſharpened with hunger, whilſt they have little or nothing to eat.

Thou wilt wonder at the diet of thoſe miſerable wretches, whom oppreſſion and poverty has forced to feed on frogs and other vermin; yet they extol it for a dainty diſh. Both poor and rich reckon it a feaſt when they can make an addition of a few muſhrooms, which they commonly gather themſelves. This is a vegetable, of which the Italian proverb ſays, "Muſhrooms, well pickled with ſpices, may do no harm, but can do no good."

God, who has commanded us to ſeparate the clean from the impure, and has taught us what we may eat without pollution, grant, that we may not, either through neceſſity, or to indulge our appetites, taſte of any thing which has in it the leaſt of the ſeven maledictions.

Paris, 14th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1646.

XIII.—*To* ABUBECHIR HALI, *Merchant in Aleppo.*

THOU telleſt me a tragical ſtory of one of thy wives, that ſhe is become a fugitive, and gone away with thy ſlave Lorenzo, whom I remember to have ſeen at thy houſe at Conſtantinople. Either thou wert too unkind to them both, or gaveſt them both too much liberty: whichſoever of theſe ways thou haſt exceeded, thou art in the fault. Too great an indulgence, either to a wife or a ſervant, makes them preſumptuous; and too great ſeverity hardens them to deſpair. However, ſince it is ſo, I adviſe thee to comfort thyſelf with this thought, that thou art rid of two evils. Had they proved faithful, they would not have merited that title; but now they are neither worthy of thy grief, nor of thy revenge.

But if thou art reſolved to purſue them, aſk not my counſel or aſſiſtance in this place, where I ſhould have as much reaſon to apprehend danger as they. It is true I know thy ſlave; but were I to meet him in the ſtreets of this city, I ſhould be very unwilling, by diſcovering him, to be made known myſelf. Beſides, thy paſſion has made thee forget that the Nazarenes would commend his wit, and rejoice in his fortune, who being a ſlave to one whom they eſteem an infidel, has now, by his wife conduct, purchaſed both his liberty and a beautiful mate, with no ſmall treaſure.

I rather adviſe thee to apply thyſelf to Jaſmir Sgire Rugial, the little aſtrologer in Aleppo, who perhaps may tell thee ſome news of them. There is not a ſtar in the eighth ſphere can ſtir without his being privy to it; and he pretends to behold in their motions whatever is done on earth.

But to be ſerious, thy ſlave was an ungrateful fellow

thus to abuſe all thy favours. Thou hadſt made him in a manner maſter of all thy riches, only reſerving thy wives to thyſelf; and if the deſire of liberty tempted him to eſcape, he ought in juſtice to have ſacrificed his luſt to the regards he owed thee. But every ſlave is not a Joſeph. Lorenzo's villany puts me in mind of the continence of an Italian marquis.

This young lord fell in love with a ducheſs of ſingular beauty, but knew not how to make her ſenſible of it. At length fortune favoured him with an opportunity beyond his expectation. One evening, as he returned from hawking, he paſſed through the fields of that ducheſs, bordering on the palace. The duke her huſband and ſhe were walking together as the young lord came by. The duke ſeeing his train, and what game they had been at, aſked him ſome queſtions concerning their ſport, and being of an hoſpitable diſpoſition, invited him into his palace to take a collation. Nothing could be more agreeable to the young lover. He accepted the offer; and here commenced an acquaintance which made way in time for an aſſignation between the ducheſs and him. He was let into the gardens one night, and ſo conducted privately to her chamber, where ſhe lay ready in bed to receive him. After ſome compliments, the ducheſs ſaid, "My lord, you are obliged to my huſband for this favour, who, as ſoon as you were gone from our houſe, the firſt time we ſaw you, gave you ſuch commendations as made me conceive an immediate paſſion for you."—"Is it true, Madam? (replied the young lover, already half undreſſed), then far be it from me to be ſo ungrateful to my friend." With that he put on his garments again, and took his leave.

But it cannot be expected that ſo much virtue ſhould

be found in a ſlave. I would not have thee vex thyſelf for what cannot be recovered. Adieu.

Paris, 14th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XIV.—*To* SOLYMAN *his Couſin.*

I CANNOT approve thy ſingularity, in preſcribing to thyſelf a rule of life different from that wherein thou wert educated, and from the laudable manners of all true believers. Thou haſt not done well in deſerting the public congregations of the faithful, to follow the ſuperſtitions of new upſtart ſects, who, whilſt they profeſs greater purity than others, do ſecretly undermine the credit of our holy lawgiver, reproach all the muſſulmans throughout the world, and introduce libertiniſm, and a contempt of the majeſty which cannot behold uncleanneſs.

Are they wiſer than their fathers, who for ſo many ages have obeyed the ſacred traditions? Or will they pretend to correct the meſſenger of God? He commanded us to obſerve the purifications taught by the angel.—Whence do theſe innovators derive their new-founded authority of diſpenſing with the poſitive injunctions of Heaven? Will they enter into the blaſphemy of the infidels, and ſay, the Prophet was a ſeducer, and that the Alcoran is but a collection of fables? If they believe the pages repleniſhed with truth and reaſon, why do they ſeek to retrench the divine commandments, and traverſe the law tranſported from Heaven? Is it an argument of their piety, that they carve out to themſelves ſuch a religion as ſuits with their licentious ſpirits? and that they pick and chooſe ſuch precepts as indulge them moſt in a careleſs life? Is this to be muſſulmans, that is, reſigned,

when they will not obey the ſovereign lawgiver of heaven and earth, but upon their own conditions? Couſin, I counſel thee to beware of theſe ſchiſmatics, who, by breaking the union of the true believers, ſecretly oppoſe the eternal unity itſelf, on which our mighty empire is founded, and reſts.

I am obliged to the poſt, who waits at my door till I have finiſhed my diſpatches; therefore I cannot now anſwer thy letter at large: another time expect a more ample expoſtulation. Meanwhile, I adviſe thee to return to the practice from which thou art fallen: Go to the aſſemblies of thoſe who pour out devout oriſons: keep a clean ſkin, and a pure heart, and make not thyſelf a companion of ſwine.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XV.—*To* Hasnadar Bassy, *Chief Treaſurer to the Grand Signior.*

This day Paris makes a figure like ancient Rome, when that miſtreſs of the world honoured her generals with public triumphs, at their return from the conquered nations. The ſtreets are hung with tapeſtry, and ſtrewed with laurels; the ſhops are ſhut up; the young men and virgins are clothed in their beſt array; they walk up and down in conſorts, ſinging the Duke of Enguien's praiſe; whilſt the old and decrepid ſit at their doors to ſee the hero make his entry, and rehearſe the memoirs of their former years. With tears of joy they heap bleſſings on the victorious youth, as he rides along; and, throwing their age and crutches by for a while, they conſecrate the reſt of the day to the public jubilee.

Wouldſt thou know the occaſion of all this joy? It is to welcome this prince home from the ſucceſsful toils of war; for, let his courage and conduct be what it will, if he had made a fruitleſs campaign, his entertainment had been different: but Fortune has been propitious to him; and the happy event of his arms crowns him with glory.

After the departure of the Duke of Orleans from the camp, the command of the whole army devolved on this general, whoſe fiery genius would not let him reſt, till he had done ſomething worthy of the character he aimed at.

His firſt attempt was on a place of no great ſtrength, called Furnes, which he took with eaſe. Then he marched to Dunkirk, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in Europe. There was in it at that time a garriſon of five-and-twenty hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, commanded by a nobleman of great valour; I think they call him the Marquis de Leide. This governor did ſo many brave things in defence of this place, as even ſurpaſſed his own fame, and the expectations of others, though both were very great. Yet, at length, he was forced to yield to the courage and fortune of the young duke, and that at a time when the other Spaniſh generals were coming to his relief. The town was ſurrendered on the 7th of this moon; and the duke, having left the neceſſary commands to the mareſchals his lieutenants, is come home to receive the acclamations of the people, the honour of a public triumph, and the particular careſſes of the king, and the whole court. Amidſt all this applauſe and glory, he muſt be content to ſtand the ſhock of envy, which always endeavours to leſſen the reputation of the brave and heroic.

As for Mahmut, he neither envies nor admires the fading honours of mortality; knowing, that when a man

is on the higheſt pinnacle of human glory, he ſtands uneaſy, nor can he deſcend from thence but by a precipice.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1636.

---

XVI.—*To* Ibrahim Hali Cheik, *a Man of the Law.*

If it be a ſign of a flouriſhing ſtate when vices are ſuppreſſed, one would preſage, that Paris is in a thriving condition. The governor of this city has newly publiſhed an edict, forbidding all ſtews and brothel-houſes, under ſevere penalties, baniſhing all harlots, and ſuch as, by the toleration of the government, have hitherto made a profeſſion of whoredom, getting a livelihood by debauching the youth of the city. This appears a great novelty to the French, who in this matter have been permitted all along to live in an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The lewder ſort exclaim with open mouth againſt this unſeaſonable rigour (as they call it), and thoſe who are aſhamed to appear public advocates for harlots, yet privately murmur againſt their ſuperiors, for retrenching a liberty, without which, they ſay, their lives would be uncomfortable.

They give a very favourable character of a whore, calling her, "A certain kind creature, born to mitigate the labours and ſoften the cares of human life." They plead, that ſuch women are neceſſary members of a commonwealth; whilſt, with their careſſes, they reſtrain libidinous youth from falling into greater enormities: That the ſtate receives no ſmall profit from the tribute which is levied on theſe houſes of pleaſure, and that therefore they have been, and are permitted in all countries: That the Holy Father himſelf tolerates an infinite number of them in Rome, which nevertheleſs has acquired the title

of the Holy City: That all the princes in Italy have followed his example, there being no other way to prevent adulteries, inceſts, and the vice which ought not to be named: That the ſtate regarded not the morality or immorality of mens actions, any farther than they tended to the public welfare: And, in fine, that ſo vaſt a number of prieſts, and religious, ſerved for no other end but to atone by their ſacrifices, prayers, alms, and faſtings, for the ſins of the people.

Theſe are the diſcourſes of ſuch as patroniſe the corruption of government, and are unwilling to be weaned from a wickedneſs, eſtabliſhed by immemorial cuſtom in the city. But thoſe who cheriſh an eſteem for virtue, and an incorrupt life, applaud the wiſdom and reſolution of the magiſtrate, ſaying, that he deſerves a ſtatue to be erected to his memory, who firſt had the courage to check this popular evil, and introduce an integrity of manners.

I, who was bred in the profeſſion of purity, and the law which admits no pollution, cannot but acquieſce to the ſentiments of the latter; our holy lawgiver having expreſsly forbidden the practice of uncleanneſs and fornication with ſtrangers, and women that proſtitute themſelves to all lovers; it being ſufficient, that to gratify human paſſion, and to ſweeten the toils of life, he has indulged us the uſe of four wives, and as many other females as we can purchaſe, either by the ſword or money.

Adieu, ſage Cheik; and, if I have interrupted thy more important ſtudies with ſo trivial a ſubject, believe, that it is for want of a proper occaſion to ſignify to thee how much thou art in my thoughts; and that I would not have our friendſhip die through too long ſilence.

Paris, 24th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XVII.—*To* MUSTAPHA, *Baſſa of Siliſtria.*

THE fortune of war has raviſhed Aſac from the Grand Signior, but has not robbed thee of the glory thou acquiredſt three years ago in the conqueſt of that city, nor ſullied thy preſent arms with any marks of diſgrace, that were of late ſo vigorouſly employed to relieve it. Had the Muſcovites performed the ſame part, when thou didſt encircle that neſt of pirates with the Ottoman forces, as they have now done, the Coſſacks would not then ſo tamely have abandoned their native ſeat, and left the characters of their deſpair imprinted in the ruins of their habitations. The protection of that potent crown has given them new vigour; and it is to the valour of thoſe northern ſavages they owe the liberty they now enjoy, to ſit by their own fires.

The Muſcovites are a fierce and warlike nation, inured to hardſhips from the womb. The midwives plunge the new born infants in cold water; and if they outlive not that trial, the mother thinks her child not worth a tear. The women have no partial tenderneſſes for their babes, but cheriſh all for the ſervice of their country; they teach them when young, to roll in ſnow, and bathe themſelves in ice diſſolved to water; they make them familiar with the extremities of heat and cold, hunger, thirſt and labour, that when they come of age, and can bear arms, they may go boldly to the wars, and bravely throw their lives away to ſerve the public good. In this they ſeem to revive the wiſdom of the ancient Spartans, who gloried in nothing ſo much as in educating their youth hardy, and free from the effeminate ſoftneſſes of other nations. They eſteemed infancy and youth the ſpring-time of good manners, when virtue is in the bloſſom: If that be nipped or blaſted, the fruit muſt prove

abortive and unprofitable; therefore they took care to ſeaſon their early years with wholeſome inſtructions, and maſculine exerciſes.

Who among the warlike Oſmans does not laugh at the unmanly education of the Perſian Sophis, who being for ſo many years confined to the company and diſcipline of females, ſeem fitter to be made overſeers of a nurſery, than to aſcend a throne.

But thou wilt ſay, I take large leaps from the north of Europe to one of the moſt ſouthern tracts in Aſia. I was diſcourſing of the Muſcovites, and the aſſiſtance they afforded the Coſſacks in recovering Aſac; I paſſed from thence to the manner of their education: Permit me now to divert thee with ſomething peculiar and uncommon, in the character of the Ruſſian women. I am acquainted with a gentleman in this city, who has travelled through all that part of Europe, and reſided ſome years at Moſcow. He ſays, the Ruſſian wives think themſelves not beloved by their huſbands, unleſs they beat them every day. They take his correction as a mark of his favour and eſteem. If theſe ſilly females are angry or peeviſh, he has no other way to court them into a better humour, but by ſtripes. This is the only convincing argument of his ſovereignty over them, the demonſtration of his manhood, the charm which faſtens both their love and obedience.

He highly applauds the abſolute reſignation which the people ſhow to their great duke, in that they pretend not to poſſeſs their eſtates and lives, but through his favour, and during his pleaſure. He ſays, the ſucceſſion of the Czars, or great dukes of Ruſſia, was in former times determined after this manner: A great ſtone was placed in a large field belonging to the city of Moſcow: When any Czar died, his ſons, or the next of kin, were conduct-

ed into this field, and placed all at an equal diſtance from the ſtone; then, at a certain ſignal given, they all ran together toward it; and he that firſt reached it, ſo as to ſtand on the top of it, was eſtabliſhed in the throne.

The reverence which theſe people pay to their prince, may in part be aſcribed to his ſeldom appearing in perſon to them, and then ſurrounded with his boyars or nobles, in the moſt magnificent equipage that can be ſuppoſed proper to ſtrike a terror and awe into his ſubjects, and cauſe them to honour him as little leſs than a god. The eyes of the vulgar are dazzled with ſo many ſplendours of ſilver, gold and jewels; and when the great duke makes his ſolemn appearance, or cavalcade, they are almoſt ready to think, that heaven has deſcended to earth, to do them the honour of a viſit. Theſe are the arts of Ruſſian policy, by which ſuch an infinite number of people are charmed into an obedience to the ſovereign. Doubtleſs the majeſty of a king receives no ſmall luſtre from external ornaments, the multitude being captivated with whatſoever is gay and glittering. Yet our glorious Sultans ſcorn to borrow advantage from, or owe their grandeur to any thing but their exalted blood, and ſublime, innate virtues.

But every nation have their peculiar cuſtoms, and diſtinct reaſons of ſtate. The conſtitution of all governments is not alike. The model of Lacedemonian policy would ſuit ill with Athens.

Thou whoſe education was in the royal Seraglio of the Oſman emperors, that haſt been inſtructed to imitate the bee, which ſucks honey from every flower; thou that knoweſt how to make a choice of good examples, and to reject the ill; practice the valour of one nation, the prudence of another, the frugality of a third; ſo ſhalt thou be conſummate in virtue, and acquit thyſelf a good general.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XVIII.—*To* SOLYMAN, KYZLAR AGA, *Chief of the Black Eunuchs.*

I AM juſt now returned to my chamber, from the palace of the king. As I paſſed along the ſtreets, I ſaw in every face the ſignatures of a profound ſorrow, which ſeems to have diffuſed itſelf over their whole bodies; for both the court and city have put on mourning for the death of Henry Bourbon, late prince of Conde.

He was not full ſixty years of age, when he left this viſible world to be new-born in a region utterly unknown to mortals. The French, not without reaſon, lament the loſs of a man, who, to ſpeak the leaſt of him, buoyed up the domeſtic intereſt of this kingdom, which ſeemed otherwiſe inclining to totter. He was the balance which poiſed the different paſſions of the court and city, by his prudence and juſtice calming both into a peaceable mediocrity.

He was born ſome moons after his father's death, whom the moſt execrable method of murdering would not ſuffer to ſpin out thoſe years which nature would have indulged him, being ſnatched away by poiſon.

Henry IV. ſo long as he remained without iſſue, fixed his eyes on this poſthumous young prince, and gave him an education ſuitable to one whom fate had deſigned to be the heir of the crown. Yet afterwards jealouſy cooled his affection, when the prince had married Charlotte the duke of Montmorency's daughter, whom Henry IV. loved to a degree of paſſion.

It is dangerous to have a ſovereign prince one's rival in love. That match had well nigh ruined the young prince of Conde. He was forced to fly into Holland with his princeſs, and make that province the ſanctuary of her honour. From thence he travelled through Ger-

many, and returned not to France till after the murder of Henry IV.

During the minority of Lewis XIII. he headed the factions, affecting to become popular. Were it not for this ambition, his life had been without blemish, and he might have blown out Diogenes's mid-day candle: but no man is free from fault. All the difference between the virtuous and vicious consists in this, that one commits fewer crimes than the other, and those not by intention or habit, but through the insuperable proclivity of nature. Every man has his genial vices, his constitutional errors; and, though he may appear a saint in all things else, yet in these he will still be a sinner.

He suffered five years imprisonment in the Bastile, which is a place put to the same use as the Castle of the Seven Towers in Constantinople. The princess his wife was his companion all the time, and shared in his misfortunes as well as his prosperity.

During that tedious confinement, he became father of a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Duke of Longueville; and, when he was set at liberty, he begot the Duke of Enguien, now Prince of Conde, and the Prince of Conti.

The French speak well of the departed prince. He was of a lively spirit, cheerful and affable in conversation, mixing daily recreations with his severer business, regularly observing order in all his affairs. Yet they say he was covetous, having heaped up great treasures by a parsimony which none of that blood had ever before practised.

On his death-bed, he recommended two things to the practice of his son, the Duke of Enguien, "Never to revenge a private injury;" and, "freely to hazard his life for the public good."

I chose to transmit to thee the news of this prince's death, with this brief account of his life, and character of his dispostion, in regard thou hast seen him in Germany, and I remember to have heard thee speak in his praise.

Continue to love Mahmut, who is never forgetful to oblige his friends.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XIX.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE posts from Catalonia came in last night laden with ill news from the army, which has been forced to decamp from before Lerida, leaving the greatest part of their artillery to the Spaniards. That place was always fatal to the French; yet the passion of the court vents itself on the Count de Harcourt, because he could not reverse the decrees of destiny. All his former meritorious actions seem now to be cancelled by this one disgrace, though it was unavoidable; so peevish are princes when their expectations are crossed. Some suspect him guilty of private correspondence; others tax him with cowardice. All this is during the heat of their resentments: the same persons, it may be, will change their censure, when they consider that he had lain before it seven moons, even till the trenches of his camp were filled with snow, and that his soldiers died of famine or cold; for the winter began to be insupportable, and the country was barren of all things necessary to sustain such an army. I cannot see wherein this general deserves reproach, unless it be a crime to be a man, and to have the command of such as are made of flesh and blood as well as he.

In Italy the French have taken Piombino and Porto Longone. This latter is the moſt important town in the Iſle of Elbe, yet was not able to ſuſtain above nineteen days ſiege.

They ſay there is a fountain in this iſland whoſe waters flow at the ſun-riſing, but in the evening are dried up. The ſuperſtitious have odd conceits of this fountain, reliſhing of the ancient pagan vanities; but the learned attribute it to natural cauſes. So the Jews tell of a river in the eaſt that ſtands ſtill on the ſeventh day of the week. This they adduce as a confirmation of their law, which commands them to reſt from labours on the ſeventh day, becauſe on that day God reſted from forming the creatures of the world. They ſay alſo, that the ſatyrs and other monſters of the deſart ſhun the light of the ſun that day, hiding themſelves in caverns of the earth, and curſing the Sabbath, becauſe it ſurpriſed God before he had quite finiſhed their forms; for which reaſon they are imperfect and monſtrous to this day.

The Divine Unity, who is the root of all numbers, and has conſecrated the number ſeven to many myſterious ends, grant, that neither thou nor I may forget the anſwers we muſt give to the ſeven queſtions of the porter of paradiſe.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1646.

---

## XX.—*To* BAJAZET, *Baſſa of Greece.*

IT appears to me by evident ſymptoms, that there is ſome deep deſign a-foot in this court. The grandees aſſemble often, and ſit late. Extraordinary couriers are ſent out, and come in at all hours of the night. Strange reports are induſtriouſly ſpread about the city. Trading

is at a ſtand, the bankers reſerved, and little money ſtirring, which makes the populace murmur. They complain of the times, as is uſual in public diſcontents: The old diſcourage and incenſe the young, by making compariſons of this age and reign with the happy days of Henry the Great. They fill their ears with golden ſtories of former times; and inſpiring into them a love of the paſt, they equally introduce a hatred of the preſent government. Theſe are the common artifices of faction; and though none appears yet under any diſtinct name or title, yet it is eaſy to prognoſticate from theſe preludes, that ere long the maſk will be taken off, and ſedition will ſhow herſelf barefaced.

The other day a fellow run crying through the ſtreets, God ſave the king, but the devil take the Italian. He was followed by a few, and thoſe of the moſt contemptible. Yet no officer or magiſtrate in this city would cauſe him to be apprehended, or attempt to ſuppreſs the mutiny he was raiſing. The citizens ſmiled at his boldneſs, and money was brought him from unknown hands: The women bleſſed him as a prophet, and the virgins fell down before the altars on his behalf; the temples were crowded with votaries, or rather with the fautors of this new ſedition; as if they ſtrove to draw their gods into the cabal, and would make heaven itſelf abett their tumults. His train increaſed as he meaſured the ſtreets; till at length he was ſeized by the royal guards, the rabble diſperſed, and all things reſtored to quiet. That night a double watch was kept throughout the city; the fellow was ſtrictly examined, and put to the rack; yet no confeſſion could be extorted from him, ſave, "That the public good induced him to take this courſe; that the tyranny and oppreſſion which Cardinal Mazarini exerciſed were inſupportable; and that he was ready to ſa-

crifice his life for the welfare of his country." He is condemned to the galleys during his life; and great endeavours are uſed to find out the authors of this novelty; for he is looked on but as an inſtrument ſet at work by ſome malcontents of higher quality, and the forerunner of ſome more formidable inſurrection.

Proclamations are iſſued out to forbid all diſcourſe of ſtate matters; but the people ſpare not to whiſper their ſentiments.

The young king is taken ill, which augments the public jealouſy: Men ſhake their heads, and look dejected as they walk along the ſtreets. Some menace revenge with their furrowed brows, others ſpeak openly that the kingdom is ſold to ſtrangers. A general conſternation and diſorder has ſeized all, while their fears prompt them daily to expect a change. To obviate the miſchiefs which thoſe popular paſſions threaten, ſoldiers are drawn from divers parts of the country by Mazarini's order, and by inſenſible companies quartered up and down Paris. Between theſe and the citizens there happen divers quarrels; frequent murders are committed; while the night, which covers all things with darkneſs, ſerves to ſhroud their mutual outrages and private revenges. Thus the public calamities are cheriſhed: What will be the iſſue, time will evince.

In the mean while, the affairs of Germany and Swedeland ſeem to be in a fair way of compoſure. Divers treaties are on foot in order to a general peace in Chriſtendom. The ambaſſadors and deputies of the ſeveral conteſting crowns have frequent conferences; but each party inſiſts ſo vehemently on circumſtantials, that nothing but fruitleſs demurs conclude their meetings. France has a great ſtroke in all theſe affairs; and it is

grown to a proverb, "That Cardinal Mazarini carries all the courts of Europe in his bosom."

The Swedes treat like victors; and the Germans, though much enfeebled, yet cannot forget the majesty of the imperial sceptre. The Danes have an interest to prosecute, and the Poles are not without their pretensions. National pride and honour have a great influence on these crowns. But the Hollanders, like merchants, act according to the rules of profit: They stand on no punctilios, but such as advance their traffic, knowing that money is the nerves of war. In this they are to be esteemed wise, their commonwealth being as yet but in her nonage, her strength not knit, nor she in a capacity to wrestle with her potent neighbours.

England finds business enough at home to employ both her money, wit and arms; nor can she be at leisure to attend to foreign transactions.

Spain ever follows the interest of the German court, it being the unalterable maxim of the House of Austria, To remain united, and aggrandise itself.

Italy has various interests; and Venice, in particular, is in strict friendship with this court.

Portugal is still upon her guard against the restless Spaniards; and Don Juan de Braganza makes foreign alliances.

The Supreme Monarch of the visible and invisible worlds, who sits on the throne of Adamant, under the covert of the eternal tree, grant, that the distractions of these infidel princes and states may continue till the time appointed by fate shall come, wherein the faithful Osmans shall possess the red apple.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1646.

## XXI.—*To* Pesteli Hali, *his Brother.*

I thought myself forgotten by the son of my mother, who has suffered so many decades of moons to measure out the term of his unkind silence, and of my melancholy. It is now three years since I heard from thee: But I will not complain of a fault so ingenuously expiated, though late. Thou hast made me ample amends in sending me such an elaborate and succinct history of thy travels; in reading of which I know not whether my pleasure or profit is greater. Thou hast so interwoven delightful adventures of thy own, and pleasant passages of others, with curious and solid observations, that a man improves himself insensibly, whilst the charming language and miscellany serve as a spur at once to rouse and fasten his attention to points of most useful knowledge.

The Christians are apt to despise the true believers, as a company of ignorant people, unacquainted with the world, unpolished both in their understandings and manners, not versed in the liberal sciences, nor addicted to the study of any thing but riches and honour, and how to augment the mussulman empire. They consider not at the same time, that God has made us rational creatures as well as them, has endued us with the same natural faculties, and that in all nations he has inspired some with a thirst of knowledge, furnishing them also with the abilities and means to attain it. They consider not, that if printing be prohibited among us, it is to suppress the multitude of unprofitable books, with which Europe too much abounds; and that in their stead we have many thousands of industrious scribes, whose whole employment is to translate the most excellent and learned treatises of the ancients; and that consequently, a studious Mahometan cannot be destitute of such books as may in-

ſtruct him in true philoſophy, ſound morals, and hiſtory of the moſt memorable tranſactions in the world. Aſſuredly, our Arabia may boaſt of her Avicens, Meſues, Averroes, Halis, and Albumazars, and that ſhe has brought forth many others who need not, in any point of human or divine learning, yield the palm to the moſt eminent doctors, philoſophers, orators, and poets among the Chriſtians.

Add to this the equal benefit ſome of our belief reap by travelling into foreign countries, which crowns all their ſtudies with experimental knowledge and wiſdom; rendering them as familiar with the different natures of men, and the various conſtitutions of government, as before they were with books.

This appears evident in thy letter, which is repleniſhed with ſo many ſolid remarks, and ſage comments on the laws and cuſtoms of the regions through which thou haſt paſſed, their religions, ſtrength, and riches, and whatſoever elſe was worthy a traveller's notice, that were this narrative publiſhed in Chriſtendom, the Nazarenes would forbear to ſpeak ſo contemptibly of the true believers.

But they flatter themſelves with a falſe notion, that the Ottomans never travel beyond the limits of their own empire, except the public Chiauſes, who are ſent by the Grand Signior. They are ignorant that the auguſt Porte maintains private agents in all nations, and that there is hardly any prince's court in Chriſtendom without a muſſulman in it one time or other. It is true, we appear not in the garb peculiar to the Eaſt. Our miſſion requires a conformity to the faſhions of the people where we reſide. But we will retain the interior veſtment of Mahometan purity, being in a double ſenſe circumciſed. Thus we become maſters of the Chriſtians ſecrets, whilſt

they account us ſtupid, ignorant, and men void of common ſenſe.

Beſides, had we not this advantage in theſe weſtern parts, yet the univerſal privilege of travelling and maintaining free commerce over all the eaſt, muſt needs afford great opportunities of accompliſhment to ſome, among the caravans of ſo many thouſands as viſit Perſia, India, China, Tartary, and all places where the faith of the miſſioner of God is profeſſed.

I am extremely pleaſed with thy fortunate eſcapes from robbers on the road, whoſe malice rarely extends farther than to deprive a man of thoſe outward goods, which, if he be wiſe, he will not call his own. Much more am I delighted with thy deliverance from thoſe female thieves, who ſteal from men their hearts and reaſon, which laſt is our nobleſt, and only proper inheritance. All Perſia and the Indies abound with courteſans; and he had need of Oſmin's chaſtity who would withſtand ſo many and ſtrong temptations.

Thou needeſt not wonder at the effeminacy of the preſent Mogul, who ſuffers himſelf and his ſtate to be governed by women. That ſubtle and aſpiring ſex have always ſought to undermine or over-reach our race. They keep behind the ſcenes, yet act their parts in all the tragedies and revolutions of the world. The father of the preſent Indian King made an abſolute reſignation of his ſovereignty to his queen for four-and-twenty hours. This prince, by a ſtrange affectation, called himſelf, King of the world. His wife was the daughter of an Arabian captain, who had ſerved him in the wars; but having forfeited his head by ſome notorious treaſon, his daughter went and threw herſelf at the Mogul's feet to beg his life. He fell paſſionately in love with her (for ſhe had not her equal for beauty in all the Eaſt), granted

her petition, and married her. Afterwards ſhe got ſuch an empire over him, that he would do nothing without her advice and conſent. At her inſtigation he made war or peace; and to pleaſe her cruel humour, he put out the eyes of his eldeſt ſon. But not ſatisfied with theſe diſcoveries of his love, and reſolving to make herſelf famous by ſome extraordinary action, ſhe never ceaſed ſoliciting the king, with all the arts of female policy, till ſhe had prevailed on him to ſurrender up his authority to her for the ſpace of a day; in which time (having prepared all things beforehand ready for her purpoſe) ſhe cauſed two millions of rupees, in ſilver and gold, to be coined and ſtamped with the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac, contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire, the expreſs prohibition of our holy Prophet, and the univerſal practice of the muſſulmans throughout the world, who admit not the repreſentations of any creatures that have life. This relation I had from my uncle Uſeph, who reſided in the Indian court eleven years. He added, moreover, that during this ſhort female reign, ſhe cut off the heads of ſeven grandees, the moſt zealous for the muſſulman faith among all the Indian princes, and eſtabliſhed as many idolaters in their places; and that, if her orders had been fully executed, ſhe had quite changed the government, conſecrated the moſt beautiful moſques to the ſervice of idols, exterminated the true faithful, and reſtored the ancient abominations of the infidels, which thou wilt not think impracticable, when thou conſidereſt that the number of the uncircumciſed in the Indies far exceeds that of the muſſulmans, there being ten thouſand of thoſe to an hundred of ſuch as profeſs the unity of the divine nature. But however, there was loyalty found even among thoſe Pagans; and

they would not ſuffer a blind zeal for the worſhip of their gods, to ſupplant the duty they owed their king.

The deſcription thou haſt made of Candahar, and the method thou haſt projected to take that impregnable city, diſcover at once thy conduct and diligence, in procuring liberty to ſurvey ſo narrowly the moſt important place of the Indies, and thy ſkill in fortifications, with the quickneſs of thy invention, which has ſuggeſted to thee that which all the engineers of Aſia have never ſo much as dreamt of. This is the right uſe of travelling, when a man returns from foreign nations cultivated with experimental knowledge, and ſtocked with improvements that may render him ſerviceable to his country.

Thou condemneſt the injuſtice and avarice of the Indian Moguls, who, as ſoon as any of the Omrahs or great men die, cauſe all his eſtate and goods to be ſeized to their own proper uſe; whereby it comes to paſs, that the widow and children of the deceaſed are reduced to the loweſt condition of poverty, being many times forced to beg for a ſubſiſtence. It is true, this is an oppreſſion not to be juſtified, eſpecially in thoſe who profeſs to believe in one God, creator of all things, the incorrupt judge of the univerſe. But what thinkeſt thou then of our Sultans, who not having patience to wait till a natural death ſhall make them heirs to the wealth of a baſſa, generally ſecure their title, and haſten their poſſeſſion by a bow-ſtring? Theſe are royal violences, though the reſignation of ſubjects muſt not tax them with any crime, who are accountable to none but God.

It was however a notable piece of raillery, with which the widow of a rich merchant reproved this unreaſonable cuſtom in the preſent Mogul: Her huſband was an idolater, who had heaped together an infinite treaſure by trading and uſury, and when he died, left her worth two

hundred thouſand rupees. Her ſon, ſome years after, coming of age, demanded of her a ſtock to ſet up with as a merchant; which ſhe, either out of avarice, or for other ends, refuſed him; furniſhing him only with ſuch ſmall ſums as ſerved to nouriſh his diſcontent, and tempt him to a lewd, careleſs life. But at length, not being able to prevail on his mother to part with ſo much as would anſwer his expectations, he complained to the Mogul, diſcloſing alſo what eſtate his father had left. The Mogul being informed of ſo much riches, ſent for the young man's mother, and commanded her to ſend him half her money, ordering, that the other half ſhould be divided between herſelf and her ſon. The widow, not being at all ſurpriſed or caſt down at this unjuſt propoſal, made the Mogul this ſhort reply: "O king, may the gods make thee happy! My ſon has ſome reaſon to require his ſhare of his father's eſtate, having his blood running in his veins; but I deſire to know what relation thou art to my huſband or me, that thou claimeſt a ſhare in his inheritance." The prince, abaſhed at ſo ſmart and bold an addreſs, commanded her to give half her eſtate to her ſon, and ſo diſmiſſed her.

I have heard ſome of our Chiauſes praiſe the magnificence of the Mogul's court, the infinite number of his attendants; but above all, they extol the inimitable grandeur of his throne, which is adorned with ſo many topazes, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and diamonds, as amount to thirty millions of rupees. But were it not much better, if, inſtead of all this needleſs glory, he could boaſt, that his empire is founded in the hearts of his ſubjects? He does not conſider, that ſuch prodigious heaps of envied treaſure are but ſo many glittering ſnares, golden manacles, which ſerve for no other uſe but to chain him

up from that freedom, and thoſe more innocent delights, that the meaneſt of his ſubjects enjoy.

Thou haſt, I perceive, diſcourſed with the Indian Bramins: Doſt not thou diſcover, even in theſe idolaters, a contempt of riches? What mean thoughts have they of the ſplendour and gaieties of the court? What a low eſteem of the long and proud ſeries of titles with which the Moguls endeavour to exalt themſelves? Whilſt they are called the lights of the world, and companions of the ſun, theſe poor philoſophers know, that in a little time they ſhall be laid in darkneſs, and have no better ſociety than that of worms. What ſignifies their pedigree, or, that the preſent Mogul is but the tenth deſcendant from the mighty Tamerlane, who made all Aſia tremble, if he has loſt the virtue of his glorious anceſtor? It is that alone makes all men truly noble.

Thou telleſt me, that the empire of the Mogul affords him more revenues than the dominions of any two the moſt potent monarchs on earth. I have heard as much from others, which convinces me, that thou haſt informed thyſelf rightly of the preſent ſtate of the Indies. But doſt thou therefore eſteem this monarch the richer? Conſider the vaſt extent of his dominions, which are ſaid to contain more than ſix hundred leagues in length, and thou wilt find, that to maintain ſo great a track of ground, both againſt his foreign and domeſtic enemies, he is obliged to keep in conſtant pay ſome millions of his ſubjects and ſtrangers; for he is in the midſt of enemies, even among his own ſubjects. There are above an hundred ſovereigns in his empire, who perpetually by turns moleſt his government, refuſing to pay tribute, and raiſing armies againſt him; whereby it comes to paſs, that he is at an infinite expence to defend himſelf, and carry on thoſe endleſs wars; thou thyſelf hav-

ing obſerved, that once in two moons there is an indiſpenſable neceſſity of paying theſe prodigious armies, not a ſoldier throughout his empire having any thing to live on, ſave the wages he receives of the king.

Conſider alſo, that this monarch always keeps ſome thouſands of the fineſt horſes in the world near his perſon, ſuch as coſt him thouſands of rupees a-piece, beſides a thouſand elephants, with an incredible number of mules, camels, and other beaſts of burden, to carry his wives, his goods, and proviſions, when he takes the field; that whole cities, even as large as Conſtantinople, are obliged to follow the king's camp for ſubſiſtence, their livelihood altogether depending on the army. Add to this, the immenſe charges of his ſeraglio, his caſtles and ſea-port towns, with all the other neceſſary expences of the ſtate, and thou wilt conclude, that when this potentate comes to caſt up his accounts, he will find himſelf a poor man.

But I ſhall cloy thee with a rehearſal of ſuch things as thou canſt not be a ſtranger to.

Only tell me, whether one of the raias or princes ſubject to the Mogul, be the real deſcendant of Porus, the ancient king of India, in the time of Alexander the Great? I have been told by ſeveral travellers, that there is ſuch an one, that his name is Rana, and that an hundred of the idolatrous princes pay homage to him, as to their natural ſovereign.

Thou confirmeſt the truth of what has been ſo often reported in theſe parts, that the prince of Java has ſix fingers on each hand, and as many toes on his feet.

But that ſeems very ſtrange which thou relateſt, of a certain language among the Indians, which is not vulgarly ſpoken; but that all their books of theology, and pandects of their laws, the records of their nation, and

the treatiſes of human arts and ſciences, are written in it; and that this language is taught in their ſchools, colleges, and academies, even as Latin is among the Chriſtians. I cannot enough admire at this; for where and when was this language ſpoken? How came it to be diffuſed? There ſeems to be a myſtery in it, that none of their Bramins can give any other account of this, ſave, that it is the language wherein God gave to the firſt creature he made the four books of the law, which, according to their chronology, was above thirty millions of years ago. I tell thee, my dear brother, this news has ſtarted ſome odd notions in my mind; for when I conſider, that this language, as thou ſayeſt, has nothing in it common with the Indian that is now ſpoken, nor with any other language of Aſia, or of the world, and yet that it is a copious and regular language, learned by grammar, like the other maternal languages, and that, in this obſolete language, books are written, wherein it is aſſerted, that the world is ſo many millions of years old; I could almoſt turn Pythagorean, and believe the world to be within a minute of eternal. And where would be the abſurdity? ſince God had equally the ſame infinite power, wiſdom and goodneſs, from all eternity, as he had five or ſix thouſand years ago. What ſhould hinder him then from exerting theſe divine attributes ſooner? What ſhould retard him from drawing forth this glorious fabric earlier from the womb of nothing? Suffer thy imagination to ſtart backwards as far as thou canſt, even to millions of ages, and yet thou canſt not conceive a time wherein this fair unmeaſurable expanſe was not ſtretched out; as if nature herſelf had engraven on our intellects this record of the world's untraceable antiquity, in that our ſtrongeſt, ſwifteſt thoughts, are far

too weak and ſlow to follow time back to its endleſs origin.

The revolution in China ſurpaſſes the common changes in kingdoms and empires; there is ſomething exceſſively tragical in the cataſtrophe of that royal houſe.

Brother, in beholding that, thou haſt ſeen human nature in a trance; and thou art ſo thyſelf, if after this, thou canſt be fond of any thing on earth. Traveller, adieu.

Paris, 25th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXII.—*To* Afis, *Baſſa.*

Several diſpatches have been lately ſent between this court and that of Swedeland, containing rather matter of compliment than any thing of great importance. Queen Chriſtina has been very ill, which has occaſioned letters of condolence from the Queen-regent of France.

Thoſe which come from that part ſay, that General Torſtenſon is made a count, and the dignity entailed to his poſterity, in recompence of his eminent ſervices to the Swediſh crown.

Theſe letters add, that there have paſſed ſome high words between Monſieur Chanut and the Swediſh ſecretary of ſtate; and that the latter, in going out of the chamber, where they diſcourſed, laid his hand upon his ſword, with theſe words, "Monſieur Chanut, were it not for the fence which the law of nations has raiſed about your perſon, I would anſwer you in another language." To which Monſieur Chanut replied, "That he wore a ſword to defend himſelf and his private honour, as well as any Swede in the kingdom."

The occaſion of this quarrel was, the great reſort of

Roman Catholic ſtrangers to Monſieur Chanut's chapel, which gave diſguſt to the Swedes, who allow not the exerciſe of the Roman religion within their territories. They caſtrate all the prieſts of that communion whom they find, and proſecute the laity with rigorous penalties. But Monſieur Chanut pleaded the law of nations; and when the ſecretary told him, that the queen permitted him and his family the liberty of their religion, but deſired him not to admit any other perſons of what nation ſoever, this miniſter replied, "That he could not receive as a favour, or permiſſion from her majeſty, the liberty of exerciſing his religion, ſince he held it only of his maſter, the King of France, who had ſent him thither, and that he would not ſhut the door of his chapel againſt any that would come in; that their law, which, according to their own calcule, was made about two thouſand years after the foundation of their eſtate, could not abrogate the law of nations, which is eternal; that this perpetual law gave particular privileges to certain perſons, and eſpecially to the miniſters of foreign princes; that their new law, ſuch as it was, being only made to maintain the public worſhip, reſpected not what was done in the houſe of a foreign miniſter, by a ſpecial privilege, it being of no conſequence to the ſtate, whether ſuch foreigners ſerved God or not, or whether they worſhipped him in a right or wrong way; that no Swede came to his chapel, but only ſome French, who were ſojourners in the land; that they did not uſe the Swediſh ambaſſadors ſo in France, who admitted whom they pleaſed into their chapels; that the houſe where he now dwelt, was the houſe of the King of France, and that therefore he could not by conſequence refuſe any Catholics an entrance into it, eſpecially ſuch as were born ſubjects of his maſter; and, in fine, that it was very rude to

oblige him to be the executioner of this ſevere law, in requiring him to ſhut his doors upon his countrymen, againſt the common laws of hoſpitality, the honour of a public miniſter, and the pleaſure of the king his ſovereign."

To this the ſecretary made ſomething too tart a reply; whereupon words increaſing between them, and the French ambaſſador being reſolute to aſſert his privilege, the ſecretary broke out into a paſſion, as I have before mentioned, laying his hand upon his ſword, as he was leaving the room.

The Swedes are naturally a rugged, ſurly people, as are all the Northern Europeans. They are ſtrangers to civility, and the gentle addreſs of the French. Yet the queen, when ſhe heard of this paſſage, was angry with her miniſter, and excuſed his rudeneſs to Monſieur Chanut; telling him, That the ſecretary was a faithful ſervant, but had been educated among the bears of the foreſt.

This puts me in mind of a ſtory, which the French tell of another ambaſſador, whom Lewis XIII. ſent to the court of Spain. The Spaniards are of a haughty temper, expecting more than ordinary ſubmiſſions from thoſe who approach the king's preſence. This ambaſſador, on the ſame ground, was required to do ſome homage, which would not conſiſt with the inſtructions of his maſter, and therefore he refuſed to comply. The King of Spain, thinking to put him out of countenance, ſaid aloud, "What! has the King of France no other men in his court, that he ſends to me ſuch a fool as this?" To which the ambaſſador replied, "My maſter has many wiſer men than myſelf about him; but to ſuch a king, ſuch an ambaſſador."

Thou wilt not perhaps approve ſuch raillery as this to

crowned heads, who ought to be treated with reverence and gravity; yet, I believe, thou wilt condemn the cruelty of a Duke of Muſcovy, who cauſed the hat of a French ambaſſador to be nailed to his head, for ſitting covered before him. This is contrary to the genius of the Eaſt, who abhor to ſee a man bareheaded.

But every nation has its mode; and I, according to the faſhion of my country, kiſs the border of thy veſt, in token of my ſubmiſſion and reſpect.

Paris, 7th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

XXIII.—*To the* MUFTI, *Moſt Venerable and worthy of all Honour.*

THE critics, who ſpend their time, and manifeſt their wit, in deſcanting on the court and the grandees, find perpetual matter of diſcourſe concerning Cardinal Mazarini. His daily actions furniſh them with new themes, and ſometimes they rehearſe the old. They compare him with his predeceſſor Richlieu, and with Cardinal Ximenes, a Spaniſh miniſter. They term theſe three, the Trinity of Chriſtian Stateſmen; thus diſtinguiſhing their perſonal characters: Richlieu, they ſay, was crafty, covetous, and revengeful; Ximenes was politic, ſevere, and valiant; Mazarini is wiſe, merciful, and liberal.

The firſt made good his character, they ſay, in heaping up ſuch prodigious treaſures; in raiſing all thoſe of his family or dependence, to the higheſt honours; in occaſioning the voluntary baniſhment of the queen-mother; in ruining whomſoever he ſuſpected; and, finally, in making himſelf ſo much the maſter of all ſecrets, that the king, however diſguſted and averſe from him, yet

could neither ſit ſafe on his throne without him, when living, nor venture the management of the public to any of his creatures, when dead. Thus ſpeak they of that great miniſter.

As to Cardinal Ximenes, they ſay, he diſcovered the qualities which they aſcribe to him, in the method he took to raiſe himſelf to that envied greatneſs, which was, by ſeeming to ſhun the honours at which he ſecretly aimed. For being a devoted derviſe, or religious friar, he appeared to be the moſt mortified man of the whole order; which being taken notice of, he was made provincial; from which dignity, he made but one ſtep more to the purple; and growing eminent for his abilities, he was made firſt miniſter in the court of Spain.

He levied ſixteen thouſand men at his own coſt, invaded Barbary, ſtormed their ſtrongeſt cities, and reduced the whole kingdom of Tripoli and Algiers to his maſter's obedience.

Whilſt he was at the head of his army, one day there happened a mutiny among his ſoldiers. A certain fellow, running up and down between the ranks, and exciting them to chooſe a new general, ſaying, "It was a ſhame to ſerve a poor-ſpirited friar;" the cardinal perceiving this, ſtepped to the fellow, and with one blow ſevered his head from his body. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into all, that from that time there was not the leaſt tumult or diſorder in his army.

They ſay he was in the end poiſoned by eating of a fiſh, of which a friend of his received intimation on the road, as he was riding to the place where the cardinal was at dinner. But he came too late to prevent the effects of the poiſon; for though the cardinal was but juſt riſen from the table, yet he began to void blood by his ears, and the extremities of his fingers, and in a few

days drew his laſt breath. He was tall, and well limbed; his two fore-teeth of the upper jaw grew ſo far out of his mouth, that he was called the Eccleſiaſtical Elephant; the futures of his ſkull were ſo cloſely indented, that there was no more room for tranſpiration of the groſſer vapours, than through the moſt ſolid part of the bone. On this account he was ever troubled with the headache, contrary to Cardinal Richlieu, who never felt any pain in that part, becauſe he had two little holes in his crown, through which the fumes exhaled.

Theſe are the remarks which are made on Cardinal Ximenes. As to Mazarini, they ſay, he ſurpaſſes both theſe miniſters in the exquiſite moderation of his temper; and comes ſhort of neither, in the contrivance or ſucceſs of affairs, being ſolid in his counſels, ſecret and ſwift in their execution. He has this alſo peculiar in his conduct, that none are more ſure of his favour than thoſe who have done him injuries. He is magnific in his expences, building palaces that may vie with the moſt celebrated ſtructures of the ancient Romans; a curious collector of choice paintings and ſculptures, furniſhing the houſes with utenſils of cedar, ebony, ſilver, gold, and other ornaments, beſitting the palace of a king; liberal beyond the expectation of his friends and ſervants, yet not to profuſeneſs; he has a wonderful ſagacity in diſcovering cheats and impoſtors, and no leſs dexterity in diſcerning men of merit, though never ſo much obſcured by misfortune.

Not long ago he catched a gentleman in a crime, which expoſed him to the laughter and contempt of the whole court, but not to the cardinal's hatred. He had been recommended to this miniſter by a lady of the court, for whom he had a great eſteem; on which account he had

free acceſs to the cardinal's preſence, and would always mix with his retinue.

But his curious patron had obſerved ſomething in his carriage, which gave him ground of miſtruſt; for he would always place himſelf as near as he could to a certain table in the chamber where the cardinal gives audience. There is a drawer under this table, which commonly ſtands half open, it being the place where all petitioners throw in their bribes or preſents, it not being ſeemly for a prince of the church to take money himſelf. The cardinal obſerved, that this ſpark always had his eye glancing on that drawer, as if he coveted what was there contained; however, he took no notice, but gave him all the opportunities imaginable to do his pleaſure; yet ſtill one accident or other hindered the gentleman from executing his deſign, which was to borrow ſome of the gold that lay in that drawer. At length it happened, that the cardinal having appointed ſome curious pageants to be made in honour of the king's birth-day, he with ſeveral of the courtiers, ſtood looking out of the windows to ſee theſe triumphant ſhows paſs by. The gentleman, taking this opportunity, whilſt he thought all eyes were intent on the gaieties without, ſlips to the table, and takes out of the drawer a bag of gold, putting it up in his pocket, and retiring to the window again. He imagined that nobody had ſeen him, and therefore hugged himſelf in the thoughts of his booty. When the ſhow was over, and the company withdrew from the window, after a while they all took their leave and departed, and among the reſt this gentleman-thief was going out. But the cardinal deſired him to tarry, in that he had ſomething to ſay to him. The gentleman, ſtung with the guilt of what he had done, fell a-trembling, and was ready to drop down at the cardinal's feet; but he bid

him be of good comfort, saying thus to him, "My friend, what thou hast done is not hid from me; if thou hast not gold enough, I will double thy sum." Therewith he gave him another bag of equal value, saying withal, "Go thy way, and see my face no more; I pardon, but cannot trust thee."

Wouldst thou know by what means the cardinal discovered this theft? He always wears on his finger a ring, in which is set a jewel of inestimable value; it being a natural mirror, and discovering all things that are done in the room, though behind a man's back. It was on this stone the cardinal cast his eye, when the gentleman thought he was looking out of the window; therein he beheld him go to the table, take out the money, and put it in his pocket. Thou seest how curious this minister is to stock himself with useful rarities.

May that great chancellor of heaven, the angel who beholds in the divine essence, as in a mirror, whatsoever is done on earth, and records all human actions in the book of judgment, never discern any thing in Mahmut which may render him worthy to be excluded the presence of God.

Paris, 12th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXIV.—*To* Danechmar Kesrou, *Kadilesquer of Romania.*

Thou that art principal among the judges of high dignity, the illustrious ornament of three empires, the strong support of equity, who preservest reason, and correctest vice, I congratulate thy deserved honour, and in doing so, I wish increase of joy to all the faithful Ottmans.

The knowledge which thou hast acquired in the law

of nations, and in the moſt perfect ſanctions of our auguſt monarchy, has made thee famous through the ſeven precincts of the earth; and has veſted thee with the robe of ſublime honour, the gift of the lieutenant of God.

I made choice of this occaſion at once to perform my duty, and to acquaint thee with a national villany, ſuch a violation of the public faith of a kingdom as it will be difficult to parallel.

The civil wars of England are known throughout the world; and thou art no ſtranger to the particular intelligences I have ſent to the Sublime Porte concerning that nation.

Since that time, the rebels have by degrees gained ground of their unhappy king, chaſing him from one place to another; till at length finding, that neither by arms nor treaties, he could reduce them to any terms of reconciliation, and being beſieged in one of his cities, which was not in a condition to hold out long, this unfortunate monarch was forced to diſguiſe himſelf, and eſcape by night, wandering through unfrequented ways, and enduring much hardſhip. He at length threw himſelf upon the faith of the Scots, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves upon oath to defend him againſt all his enemies whatſoever.

The Scottiſh army was then in England, being hired to aſſiſt the rebels; whence ſome take occaſion to accuſe this prince of raſhneſs, and too much credulity, in ſeeking protection from thoſe who firſt began the rebellion, and who had ſtained the records of Scotland with the blood of many of their kings. But innocency is void of ſuſpicion, and therefore, becauſe his own intentions were ſincere, he knew not how to be jealous of others.

However, the Scots at firſt ſeemed to act the parts of

loyal men; and when they were threatened by the Engliſh rebels, and their pay was ſtopped, with declarations alſo iſſued out againſt their proceedings, they continued to aſſert the juſtice of their deportment, in receiving and defending their injured king who had fled to them for ſuccour.

They detained him thus from the 4th of the 5th moon of the year 1646, to the 30th day of the 1ſt moon of this preſent year; at which time, having agreed with the Engliſh parliament for the ſum of four hundred thouſand ſequins, as the price of their ſovereign, they delivered him up to the Engliſh commiſſioners, deputed by the rebels for that purpoſe.

The French ambaſſador was at that time in the Scottiſh army, who having been a witneſs of their deteſtable perjury, took his leave; and being attended with a guard of light horſe to the ſea-port, at parting he pulled out a piece of Engliſh money, valued at half a-crown, and aſking the captain of the guards into how many pieces of coined ſilver that half-crown might be divided; he anſwered, into thirty: "For ſo much (replied the ambaſſador) did Judas betray his maſter."

Thou wilt better comprehend the force of this repartee, when thou conſidereſt, that, according to the Chriſtians belief, this Judas was a ſlave of Jeſus, the ſon of Mary, and that for thirty pieces of ſilver, he betrayed that prophet to the Jews.

But theſe infidels have found out ways to elude all engagements and promiſes: They couch their oaths in words more ambiguous than the oracles of Delphos, as if they thought not only to circumvent men by their equivocations, but alſo to deceive him who formed the tongue and the ear, even God, who is perfect in knowledge.

Such a ſtory I have read of one Hatto, a German

biſhop, whoſe perjury is recorded. This prelate had a couſin who was accuſed of treaſon againſt the emperor; on which account he was cloſely beſieged by the Imperial forces, in a caſtle ſeated on the top of an impregnable rock; ſo that the emperor, deſpairing to take him by force, had withdrawn his army, when this biſhop came to him, and for a ſum of money promiſed to betray his kinſman into the emperor's hands.

The bargain being concluded, the biſhop went to viſit his couſin at the caſtle, perſuading him to go and humble himſelf to the emperor, and he would engage to procure his pardon; binding himſelf with a ſolemn oath, that if he would rely on him, as he carried him ſafe out of the caſtle, ſo he would bring him back alive and ſafe again.

His kinſman, deluded with theſe fair pretences, and ſecured by the ſanction of an oath, truſts himſelf to the conduct and fidelity of the prelate.

When they had rode about half a league from the caſtle, the biſhop, pretending he had forgot ſome papers of moment, which he had left behind him in his chamber, they returned back to the caſtle; and when they had found the papers, they ſet forward again toward the emperor's camp. Being arrived there, the impious wretch delivered his kinſman to the emperor, who condemned him to die. He ſending for the biſhop, reproaches him with the violation of his oath; but the perfidious biſhop ſought to acquit himſelf, by ſaying, "He had performed his promiſe, in carrying him back ſafe to the caſtle, when he returned to ſeek his papers." Thus was his kinſman betrayed by a quibble, and loſt his head; the biſhop acquiring, for that impious deed, the odious title of Hatto the Traitor; and the Germans report, that he was afterwards carried away by devils, and thrown alive into the hollow of mount Ætna; a

voice being heard at the ſame inſtant in the air, ſaying, "This is the reward of perjury."

The Nazarenes believe this flaming mountain to be one of the mouths of hell: The ſame opinion they have of Strombolo and Veſuvius. I am not curious to pry into the truth of ſo coſtly a ſecret, but leave the experiment to the foreſworn, treacherous Scots, who, by this barbarous action, deſerve to follow the fate of Hatto.

Much greater was the integrity and virtue of the ancient Romans, whom theſe infidels number among the damned. They eſteemed nothing more ſacred than the public faith, building temples to its honour, and ſtamping their money with the figure of two hands joined together, having this motto, THE FAITH OF THE ROMANS. But the Scots ſhow themſelves to be of Lyſander's mind, who uſed to ſay, "Children muſt be circumvented with good words, and men with oaths."

This monarch is now led in triumph, like a captive, by his rebellious ſubjects, who have confined him to one of his country palaces, ſuffering none of his friends or faithful ſervants to come near him, but in all things endeavouring to render his reſtraint inſupportable.

Thou who art accurate in interpreting the laws of juſtice, wilt condemn theſe infidels of horrid treaſon, yet canſt not acquit the muſſulmans, who have often depoſed our moſt auguſt emperors.

I divide my intelligence among the miniſters of the Sublime Porte, and the other grandees of the ſtate; praying God to guard the ſultan from ſecret machinations and open enemies, and to grant, that an exceſs of good nature may not betray him to ſuch misfortunes as have befallen this impriſoned monarch.

Paris, 21ſt of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1647.

## XXV.—*To* RAGEL HAMET, *Antiquary to the Sultan.*

THIS city is peſtered with an innumerable multitude of bats, and a kind of ſerpents, which they call lizards or newts. They breed in the walls of their houſes, and moleſt the inhabitants night and day, ſwarming more than ordinary every ninth year.

The Pariſians give an odd reaſon for this plague: They ſay, that in former ages a certain magician had undertaken to free this city from all venomous creatures; and that accordingly he had made ſeveral images of thoſe animals, annexing to them enchantments, and hiding them in obſcure places under the earth; promiſing alſo, that ſo long as thoſe images remained untouched, Paris ſhould not be moleſted with any hurtful thing. This ſucceeded according to his words; till at a certain time, as they were digging up the foundations of an old temple, the workmen found ſeveral brazen images, ſome repreſenting a bat, ſome a lizard. They making ſmall account of thoſe magical reliques, ſold them to the next brazier for a piece of money, who, being ignorant alſo of the hidden force of theſe images, melted them down for his own uſe; and ever ſince that time the city has been over-run with bats and lizards.

I relate this to thee, in regard I have often heard thee ſpeak of the ancient ſtatues that were in the Atmidam at Conſtantinople, and in other parts of the city; particularly of that pillar which had three brazen ſerpents winding about it, which, when Mahomet the Great beheld, the conqueror ſtruck one of them with a battle-axe, and ſmote off the lower jaw; upon which a multitude of ſerpents infeſted the city, but were ſoon exterminated, in regard the ſultan, being warned by the citizens, forbore

to do any farther injury to thoſe images, which were the guardians of the city.

The annals of the muſſulman empire make mention of theſe ſtatues, as alſo of a horſe of braſs, and a bull of the ſame metal; the one erected as a charm againſt the peſtilence; the other as an oraculous ſign, that the enemies of the Grecian monarchy ſhould in that place be repulſed and driven out of the city. Yet it proved otherwiſe; for the victorious muſſulmans, againſt whom the enchantments of the infidels could not prevail, entered the market-place, where this image ſtood, and drove from thence the timorous Grecians, cutting in pieces all that made reſiſtance, and rendering themſelves lords of Conſtantinople, at that time the richeſt city in the world.

The Romans were extremely addicted to theſe ſuperſtitious vanities, believing the ſafety of their city and empire conſiſted in the preſervation of the Palladium, an image which they thought fell down from Jupiter, and was tranſported from Troy to Italy by Æneas; being afterwards repoſited in the Temple of Veſta, but burnt in that dreadful conflagration which happened in the reign of Nero.

They had in no leſs veneration the buckler, which they were taught dropped down from heaven into the hands of Numa Pompilius, whereon the fate of Rome was engraven in characters which none could read. Fearing leſt this ſacred ſhield might be ſtolen, they cauſed eleven others of the ſame figure to be made, and all to be hung up together in the temple of Mars.

And, to the end the guardian genius of the city ſhould not be enticed from them by the enchantments of their enemies, the true name of the city of Rome was kept ſecret, even from its own inhabitants, inſomuch that Valerius Soranus was put to death for publiſhing it to one of

his friends. Many have gueſſed at this hidden name; ſome ſaying it was Valencia, others that it was Velia; a third ſort call it Anthuſa: but there is no certainty in their conjectures; for the pagans were, above all things, careful to conceal the names of their cities and patron gods, knowing that thoſe ſpirits would not forſake them till they were called forth by their proper names.

They uſed alſo to chain the images of their gods to the altars, leſt they ſhould depart from them by ſtealth. Thus the Tyrians, when Alexander beſieged their city, and they underſtood from the prieſts, that Apollo the guardian of Tyre was diſpleaſed with them, they faſtened his image with ſtrong fetters of iron. So dealt the Spartans with the image of Mars. And this was the common practice among thoſe idolatrous nations.

As for us, who have received the law clear and intelligible, and believe in the unity of the divine eſſence, we uſe no charms ourſelves, neither do we fear the magic of the uncircumciſed. All our confidence is in God, and the protection of his prophet: We go boldly to the wars, whilſt we fight in defence neither of ſtatues nor fictitious relics, but of the volume repleniſhed with truth and light, the book brought down from Heaven by an angel.

Paris, 17th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXVI.—*To the* VISIER AZEM.

I AM now returned from Orleans, whither I went in obedience to thy appointments, and not without abundance of pleaſure to myſelf, it being the time of year when all things conſpire to make a traveller paſs his time away with delight.

Yet my return was melancholy, in regard I could not accompliſh what I aimed at, nor be in a capacity to render thee that ſatisfaction thou requireſt, either in buying the jewels, or in eſtabliſhing any correſpondence. Thoſe who informed thee of the Germans inhabiting that city, were miſtaken in their character, they being only a ſociety or corporation of ſtudents, and nowiſe concerned in traffic or merchandiſe.

They told thee right, in ſaying there are a great number of ſtrangers in Orleans: I think the imperial city, which commands the world, cannot boaſt a greater diverſity of languages than are ſpoken daily in the ſtreets and houſes of Orleans. There are ſome almoſt of all nations reſiding in that city.

Wouldſt thou know the real occaſion of this mighty conflux of foreigners? It is, that they may ſtudy that which the Nazarenes call the Civil Law, which is there profeſſed as in an academy, erected for that purpoſe by Philip the Fair, one of the kings of France.

If thou knoweſt not the meaning of the Civil Law, it is a collection of the ancient Roman laws, drawn from above two thouſand books of their ſcribes, by the command of the Emperor Juſtinian, for a ſtandard of equity in thoſe corrupt times, in that univerſal relaxation and decline of good government.

This is the attractive, which draws ſo many ſtrangers from all parts of Europe, to that pleaſant city, where, beſides the opportunity of improving themſelves in the moſt honourable profeſſion among the Nazarenes, next to that of the prieſthood, they enjoy a pure and ſerene heaven, a fruitful and delicious part of the earth, and the company of the moſt obliging and courteous people in all France.

It is for this reaſon the Germans, among other nations, flock to Orleans; and, through the favour of the French kings, have obtained a privilege beyond other nations; that is, to incorporate themſelves into a ſociety of ſtudents. Neither is there any ſuch thing as merchandiſe known among them.

If I have not anſwered thy expectation, ſupreme Prince of the Baſſas, blame not Mahmut, but accuſe the Germans of Orleans, for not exchanging their ſtudies for traffic; or rather blame thoſe who preſumed to tell thee this far-fetched fable. In finiſhing this letter, I bow my head to the floor of my chamber, and kiſs the paper which ſhall have the honour to be touched by thy illuſtrious hands.

Paris, 1ſt of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXVII.—*To the* AGA *of the Janiſſaries.*

THOU haſt heard of the Aſſyrian, Scythian, and Roman heroines. Theſe were all valiant leaders of armies, women of honour and renown. Now I will inform thee of a female, which France has brought upon the ſtage of war.

According to the orders which I received from the Viſier Azem, I took a journey to Orleans laſt moon; where, on the third day after my arrival, beholding a ſolemn proceſſion in the ſtreets of that populous city, attended with ſome uncommon ceremonies and rejoicings, my curioſity prompted me to inquire the occaſion of it. Thou mayeſt imagine I did not apply myſelf for information to the multitude, who take up things on the common credit of fame, which does not always deliver the

truth. I addreſſed myſelf to thoſe who were acquainted with the records of the town; who told me, that this ſolemnity was yearly obſerved on the eighth day of the fifth moon, in memory of their deliverance from the Engliſh, who beſieged this city, and were beaten from before it by Joan d'Arc, a maid of Lorrain, in the reign of Charles I. This virago ſeemed to be the tutelar angel of France; for to her valour and conduct that monarch owed the recovery of his kingdom, almoſt loſt to the King of England; this being the laſt place of importance which had not received Engliſh garriſons. After ſhe had raiſed the ſiege, ſhe purſued the enemy, gave them ſeveral battles, defeated them, took the generals captive, reduced all the cities to their former obedience, and never ſheathed her ſword till ſhe ſaw her maſter ſolemnly crowned at Rhemes. Yet at length ſhe herſelf was made a priſoner by the Engliſh, and was publicly burned for a witch at Rouen.

The inhabitants of Orleans have erected brazen ſtatues in her honour. They celebrate her praiſes, and eſteem her a woman divinely inſpired to ſave her country. Yet the more intelligent ſort ſay, that ſhe was neither witch nor propheteſs, but only a maid of good wit and courage, whom ſome of the princes of the blood royal had inſtructed to act the part of a miſſionary from Heaven; that ſo, by pretending viſions and revelations, ſhe might raiſe the courage of the French, now almoſt diſpirited by their many loſſes, and whom nothing leſs than a miracle could perſuade to abide the field againſt the victorious Engliſh. This is certain, that ſhe diſtinguiſhed the king, though diſguiſed like a peaſant, and in a crowd of people: She went boldly up to him, and ſaluted him by his title, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that ſtood by. She ſent a meſſenger to bring her a ſword of antique work-

manſhip, that lay hid in a tomb in one of their famous moſques, (for the Nazarenes of the Weſt bury the dead in their temples). This action extremely enhanced her reputation, in regard none knew of this ſword but the king himſelf. She was therefore looked upon as an extraordinary perſon, and the people could hardly be reſtrained from paying her divine honours.

When they were encamped on a certain plain of a vaſt extent, where there was no water to be found, ſo that the army was ready to periſh through thirſt, the king came to the tent of this propheteſs, to conſult her as an oracle in the general diſtreſs. She bid him be of good courage, and follow her. They went out together to the door of her tent, where, at a little diſtance, there grew a knot of flowers. The admirable maid ſtruck her ſpear into the ground, amidſt the flowers, and incontinently there ſprung forth a fountain of water, to which the whole army repaired to allay their thirſt. They ſay the place is ſhown to this day, with an image of this maid ſtanding in an oratory, cloſe by it, a place of refreſhment and devotion for travellers that paſs over thoſe barren plains.

However, whether it were artifice, or that ſhe was endued with ſome ſupernatural gift, it had a marvellous influence on the ſoldiers, who began to reaſſume courage, and feared nothing under the conduct of ſuch a general.

It was revenge, without doubt, rather than juſtice, that extorted that cruel ſentence from the Engliſh, which put a period to the heroic actions of this illuſtrious maid, whoſe fame will live for ever.

It is recorded, that whilſt ſhe was bound faſt to the ſtake with ſtrong cords, they would have kindled the fire upon her before ſhe had ſpoke to the ſpectators; but that ſhe ſuddenly became looſened, and, ſnatching a lance

from one of the ſoldiers, ſhe drove the guards before her; then returning of her own accord to the ſtake, ſhe made her laſt dying ſpeech, foretelling many things to come, which afterwards proved true; and having made an end of ſpeaking, ſhe bid the executioner ſet fire to the wood, which he did accordingly, and ſhe was burned to aſhes.

Certainly every nation may boaſt of ſome female warrior, that at one time or other has done remarkable ſervice to her country: And thou art not a ſtranger to the hiſtory of the Amazons, who excluded men from their ſociety, yet became formidable to all the regions round about them.

Adieu, brave commander of the muſſulman forces, and let the memory of theſe valiant females inſpire thee with freſh ardours, when the Ottoman empire is in danger.

Paris, 1ſt of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXVIII.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

Thou art the man that muſt participate in all my adventures; and I ſhould be a churl, in not letting thee ſhare with me the pleaſure I found in a late journey to Orleans, one of the preſidiary towns of France. It was by the order of the Viſier Azem I undertook that journey. Somebody had informed him, that this town was full of merchant-travellers of ſeveral nations, but eſpecially of Germany, who brought the choiceſt jewels of the eaſt, to vend in this place at ordinary rates. That miniſter gave me commands to buy certain ſtones, with inſtructions to treat of another affair, which it is not neceſſary for thee to know. I accordingly ſet out from Paris the

third day of the fifth moon; and Eliachim the Jew (of whom thou haſt heard) bore me company.

I need not deſcribe to thee the country through which we paſſed; it exactly reſembleth the plains of St. Iſidore, not far from Palermo in Sicily. Thou and I have reaſon to remember that place of our captivity, carrying the marks of our maſter's cruel anger yet in our bodies. Thoſe plains, thou knoweſt, afford a very agreeable proſpect, eſpecially at this time of the year, when the verdure of the trees, mixed with the brightneſs of the cornfields, and the parti-coloured meadows, tempt the eye into a controverſy of pleaſure, a man neither knowing well how to take it off, nor yet where to fix it, in ſuch an orderly confuſion and medley of charming objects.

Such is the province between Paris and Orleans, which has this advantage of thoſe Sicilian plains, that here, all the way one rides, innumerable magnificent and beautiful palaces appear, ſhooting up their glittering turrets above the lofty groves, which environ thoſe ſeats of pleaſure. Indeed this is one of the pureſt airs, and the moſt fertile ſoil in all the kingdom, which invites the nobles and gentry to reſide here during the ſummer, and occaſions much travelling on this road.

About mid-day, we came to a town called Chaſtres, where we alighted to refreſh ourſelves. Travellers, in theſe weſtern parts are better accommodated with proviſions than they can be in Aſia, where they muſt carry their own beds with them, and dreſs their own victuals, or lie on the naked floor faſting. This makes the Nazarenes call the Eaſt inhoſpitable. They conſider not at the ſame time, that it is the niceneſs and delicacy of the Mahometans, which occaſions this cuſtom. For the eaſtern people are fearful of defiling themſelves by eating meat prepared by other hands than their own, or thoſe

of their ſervants; as alſo to lie on a bed common to all paſſengers.

But theſe infidels are like the ſwine, to whom all meat is welcome, and every ditch an acceptable bed. Here are inns all along the roads, whereinto when you enter, the hoſt provides you both bed and all other neceſſaries. A man muſt venture to ſleep on the ſame pillow, where perhaps a leper has lain the night before, or ſome perſon infected with a worſe diſeaſe. The hoſt examines none, but harbours all alike, provided they have money to pay him. And as for victuals, it is the cuſtom for all travellers to eat together at one common table, where ſeveral diſhes of meat are ſerved up, and every man is free to eat what and how much he pleaſes, paying a ſtated price for his dinner.

Thus no ſooner were we come into our inn at Chaſtres, but the hoſt ſaluting us after the manner of the country, invited us to ſit down at the ordinary (for ſo they call their public dinner in an inn). We were not ſo ſcrupulous as to refuſe his offer, but followed him into the chamber where the dinner was prepared. There were many gueſts at the table, and all buſy in feeding themſelves. We took ſuch ſeats as we found vacant, and, without much ceremony, fell to eating. The Jew truſted to the indulgence of Moſes, and I to that of Mahomet, for eating with the uncircumciſed, whoſe meat is ſeldom free from the pollutions of blood. We knew, that neither God nor his prophets required us to ſtarve.

There was plenty of wine, and that ſo delicious, as would have tempted an hogia to taſte it, without the mufti's diſpenſation. To avoid ſingularity, I made a ſhow of eating as the reſt; but the greateſt part of my repaſt conſiſted in bread and ſome fruits, with that exhilarating juice of the grape.

The honeſt Jew ſwore it was a banquet prepared by Cupid, to render him the moſt miſerable of all men; for, juſt in the midſt of our mirth, came in a French gentleman with a lady in his hand, who placed themſelves at the table exactly oppoſite to us. I perceived evident ſymptoms of ſome diſorder in Eliachim, who ſeemed to read his fate in that fair creature's face, yet had not power to check his wandering eyes, or guard them from inevitable wounds. He had almoſt acted over the ſtory of the Egyptian wives, whom Joſeph's miſtreſs had invited to behold his beauty; they cut their fingers for their meat, whilſt gazing on the charming youth; ſo poor Eliachim was all confuſion, turned to a ſtatue, whilſt he looked on this enchanting Gorgon. He had forgot to eat or drink, till I began to rouſe him from his dream. I told him ſoftly in the ear, this lady was but the younger ſiſter of Ixion's miſtreſs. This brought him to his ſenſe again, but could not reſtore his peace. Prudence taught him to diſſemble the violent emotion of his ſoul, and not to expoſe himſelf in ſuch a company; but nothing could expel the fatal poiſon from his breaſt.

When we had ſufficiently repoſed ourſelves, we bid adieu to the inn, all joining company, and ſetting forward to Orleans. On the road, both Eliachim and I had many opportunities of converſing with this young lady, ſuch familiarity with women being allowed in France. We found her wit ſurpriſing as her beauty, and her mien and conduct ſuch as gave advantage to them both. In a word, Eliachim was loſt amidſt ſo many perfections.

When we came to our inn at night, and were in our chamber together, he vented his paſſion in theſe words: "Mahmut, I have paſſed theſe years hitherto, without any other ſentiments of love, ſave thoſe which in gene-

ral I owe to all our race, and ſome more particular regards of friendſhip and duty; but, ſince I ſaw this lovely creature, methinks my friends, and all that ought to be beloved on earth, is now contracted into her. It is not her ſnowy ſkin or matchleſs features are of force to move me, though they are ſuch, thyſelf being judge, as would have foiled Apelles's art to imitate; but it is a luſtre which I cannot expreſs. Surely it was lightning darted from her eyes, thoſe fair avenues of her brighter ſoul; the ſubtle flame glanced through my breaſt, and in a moment ſcorched my reaſon up; the lovely Baſiliſk ſhot death at every look. Thou faweſt how I ſat as one transformed, ſo lifeleſs, and without motion was I, whilſt gazing on my ruin; and to this hour, a fatal numbneſs ſpreads through all my veins, as if I had touched ſome dire torpedo."

Thus went he raving on, till I interrupted him, with laughter and raillery, endeavouring to cure him of this love-ſick humour by ridiculing it. I told him my own experience of this fooliſh paſſion, rehearſed my former adventures with Daria, and how at length I got the victory of this vain fondneſs by abſence, and the exerciſe of my reaſon; but all that I could ſay made no impreſſion on the ſtupid lover; he grew but worſe, and ſo I left him to ſeek repoſe from ſleep.

We came not to Orleans till the next day, where we tarried not long, having no other buſineſs as it happened, but to ſee the rarities of the town, and inform ourſelves of thoſe things it is convenient for travellers to know. After which we returned to Paris; I, with the ſame ſentiments I had at my firſt ſetting out from thence, but it ſeems the world was metamorphoſed in poor Eliachim's opinion. To him the trees had now loſt all their greenneſs; the flowers, and graſs, and corn, looked wi-

thered; the birds ſung mournful notes; the winds blew hoarſe, unwelcome ſounds; and every thing in nature ſeemed to him to droop, becauſe Falante was not there; ſo was the fair one called, as Eliachim had learned of her, when we parted from Orleans.

In this melancholy condition, the poor brain-ſick Jew has continued ever ſince: When his cure will commence, I know not.

If thou yet retaineſt thy native liberty, and haſt not ſacrificed it to unhappy love, learn by his misfortune to watch thy ſenſes, which are the firſt traitors to the ſoul. Adieu.

Paris, 1ſt of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## XXIX.—*To the* CAPTAIN BASSA.

THOU that haſt had thy education in Arſenals, and haſt led the reſt of thy life in ſhips of war, wilt be beſt able to judge of the propoſal which a certain bold ſea captain made to Cardinal Mazarini not long ago.

It being the general diſcourſe of this city, with what inſult and defiance Admiral Moroſini, with about thirty men of war, entered the Helleſpont, and braved the Dardanelles; this officer told the cardinal, that if he would furniſh him with half that number of ſhips, he would engage to drive the Sultan out of his ſeraglio, lay that palace in the duſt, and beat down the towers of all the moſques in Conſtantinople, or loſe his life in the attempt. To which the Cardinal replied, "Monſieur, I believe it is poſſible, if you could finiſh your work, before they would board your men of war with an hundred galleys and ſaiques full of armed men."

It is ſaid, that Cardinal Richlieu had ſuch a project

once, which made him propoſe the building of prodigious high ſhips, whoſe outſides ſhould be ſtuck all over with ſharp ſpikes, that ſhould render it impoſſible for galleys to board them.

By this thou mayeſt know, that ſuch an attempt is not thought impracticable by the Chriſtians. I wiſh it be not put in effectual execution by them, when the Porte may leaſt dream of it.

Chriſtina Queen of Swedeland, has cauſed a moſt magnificent veſſel to be built, with deſign to preſent it to Cardinal Mazarini. The inner work of the cabin is of cedar, curiouſly overlaid with flowers, and other imagery of gold; the extremity of the ſtern adorned with windows, ſtatues, and galleries; the wooden work all overlaid with the ſame metal; the roof of the cabin preſents the ſtory of Jaſon's expedition to get the golden fleece, painted by the beſt maſters in Swedeland; all the furniture ſpeaks the royal bounty of her that gives it; the cannon are of the pureſt braſs; the reſt of the tackle ſuch as are fitteſt to weather the winds and waves; from which neither this queen's ſovereignty in Swedeland, nor the cardinal's grandeur in France, could exempt either of them, were they expoſed to ſea.

There are thoſe who whiſper on this occaſion, that the Queen of Swedeland has ſome inclinations to the Roman Catholic religion; that ſhe has had ſeveral conferences with Monſieur Chanut on that ſubject, as alſo with his prieſts; that her reſident in Portugal has openly embraced that faith, not without the queen's private conſent and approbation. It is not material to us what religion the infidels profeſs, whilſt they aſſert doctrines repugnant to the divine unity, and the truth of the ſent of God. I behold, at this time, an evident ſign of his unity in the heavens; it is the new moon juſt riſing from

the lower hemiſphere. At the ſight of this planet, the meſſenger of God has commanded me to fall on my face, and adore the Eternal.

Wherefore, praying that her influences may prove propitious to thee, whilſt thou art on the ocean, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## BOOK III.

### LETTER I.—*To* BEDREDIN, *Superior of the Convent of Derviſes, at Cogni in Natolia.*

NOT more welcome are the rich perfumes of Arabia to a ſoul almoſt expiring through grief and melancholy than is thy letter to Mahmut, wherein is contained the certificate of thy being yet on this ſide the ſtate of inviſibles. Methinks, all nature flouriſhes while thou art alive; and I feel a ſpirit within me prompts me to preſage, that thy death, like the fall of leaves in autumn, will prove the harbinger of the world's laſt winter. Whilſt thou liveſt, thy prayers and merits ſupport the drooping elements, which are now almoſt ready to fall into their primitive chaos and inactivity. The angel of the trumpet, in contemplation of thy virtue, delays to ſound the grand tremendous blaſt, which, at an inſtant, ſhall puff out the light of ſun, moon, and ſtars, and blow the breath out of the noſtrils of all the living generations. That day ſhall be a day of darkneſs, horror, and ſilence, till the hour of tranſmigration comes; when, at the ſecond blaſt, the firmament ſhall rent aſunder, like the opening of cur-

tains; this old world ſhall fly away like a ſhadow, to the right hand and to the left: Then ſhall naked ſouls hang hovering in the empty ſpace betwixt paradiſe and hell; the throne ſhall be placed, judgment ſhall be given; and, to wind up the myſteries of fate, a new and immortal world ſhall at a moment ſpring forth from the womb of eternity, and poſſeſs the place of the former.

I write not this to inſtruct thee, Venerable Bedredin, who art a mine of knowledge, but to ſatisfy thee, that though I live amongſt infidels, yet I conſerve inviolate the faith of my fathers, believing the book brought down from the eternal archives. Thou feareſt that I ſhall turn Chriſtian, being accuſed by ſome of levity in my opinions; by others of profaneneſs and atheiſm; by all, of diſcovering too favourable an inclination to the Nazarenes.

Suffer me, O holy preſident of the ſervants of God, to purge myſelf of theſe falſe imputations, the product of envy and malice. Permit me to lay at thy ſacred feet a modeſt apology for my faith.

Let not that deſcription of the Chriſtians Meſſias which I ſent thee in my laſt letter, create in thee an opinion to my diſadvantage, nor prevail on thee to think, I can ever ſwerve from the profound attach I owe to the ſent of God. I honour Jeſus the ſon of Mary; and ſo I do all his brethren, the prophets in paradiſe: This I am taught in the Alcoran. Where is then my crime? If I give virtue its due praiſe, even in the infidels, am I therefore a Nazarene? If I ſpeak with reverence and modeſty of Chriſtian princes, am not I therefore a muſſulman? Or, does the book of glory teach us arrogance? Surely my traducers will bluſh, when they ſhall conſider, that our auguſt emperors themſelves (who are ſovereigns of all the kings on earth), when they vouchſafe to write to

Chriſtian princes, dictate their letters in a ſtyle full of affection and regard: They give them magnificent titles at the beginning, and at the concluſion they wiſh them increaſe of felicity, both here and in paradiſe. And would it become a ſlave to treat crowned heads with leſs reſpect than does the Maſter of the Univerſe? If I have contracted friendſhip with ſome of the Chriſtian derviſes, it was to ſerve the ends of the Sublime Porte, and perform the rites of gratitude. I thought it no crime to receive a kindneſs from any man, or to return it, without examining his religion. But perhaps they ſuſpect the intimacies I had with Cardinal Richlieu, and ſtill have with his ſucceſſor Mazarini. Reſt aſſured, O holy derviſe, that my acceſs to theſe princes of the Roman church is ſo far from being criminal, that without it I never had been capable of penetrating into the counſels of the infidels, nor of doing any effectual ſervice to the Grand Signior. The countenance which my familiarity with theſe two great miniſters affords me, has all along facilitated my deſigns; and, whilſt under their umbrage I am taken for a zealous Chriſtian, I ſecretly lay a foundation, whereon, in due time, ſhall be built, even in the heart of Chriſtendom, triumphal arches for the victorious muſſulmans. It is ſtrange, methinks, that, after all this, I ſhould be ſuſpected! That notwithſtanding I have patiently endured nine years confinement to an obſcure and private life; a melancholy baniſhment to a ſtrange country, yea, to a city for which I have a natural averſion; a city the moſt unclean, noiſy, and vain in the whole earth; to be ſhut up, for the ſake of avoiding diſcovery, in a chamber ſo narrow, that ſuſpicion itſelf, nay, even thought, the mother of that little paſſion, would ſweat and be ſtifled, when once circumſcribed within theſe walls; and, after all this, to be made a priſoner of ſtate,

on jealouſy of being a Mahometan; to abide that puniſhment ſo many moons unmoved, uncorrupted, and at length to be releaſed, to the advantage of the Ottoman intereſt, and yet to be traduced at home, for a traitor to God, his prophet, and my ſovereign, has ſurely ſomething in it inconſiſtent.

What is then my crime? Or why am I thus aſperſed? Let my ſlanderers hereafter be ſilent; unleſs they will lay it to my charge, that in ſome of my letters I have diſcovered a mind free from ſuperſtition; that I put a high value on reaſon, and have no low eſteem for ſome of the ancient philoſophers; that I endeavour to guard my ſenſe, and will not ſuffer it to be muzzled with the impoſitions of ignorance and prejudice; that I do not think it a neceſſary qualification of a muſſulman to purſue with inexorable hatred all men that differ from me in opinion; in fine, that in all my converſation, I ſtrive to comport myſelf as one who aſſerts the unity of the Divine eſſence, the plurality of his prophets, the determinate number of the elect; and who is reſolved and prepared rather to die a thouſand deaths than voluntarily to commit an impiety againſt theſe principles, or the intereſts of the Grand Signior, who has a right to command all mankind. If theſe be crimes, I muſt own myſelf culpable; if not, let my accuſers lay their hand upon their mouth. And continue thou, ſage doctor of our holy law, to inſtruct me with thy counſels, to aſſiſt me with thy prayers, and to protect me with thy friendſhip: then ſhall Mahmut perſevere a true believer, a faithful ſlave to the Oſman emperor, and a devout admirer of thy longevity and virtue.

I ſhould fear this might be the laſt letter I ſhould have the honour to ſend thee, were I not convinced by ſome near examples, that old age was not reſtrained to the

times before the flood. Though thou haſt far outpaſſed the ordinary years of men, yet there is at this time, not far from Paris, a man who has near doubled thy age. He is an hermit, living on a hill, where all things neceſſary for human ſuſtenance ſeem to be wanting; the walls of his houſe are built of mud, with his own hands (a weak defence againſt wind and rains); his bed is compoſed of leaves of trees; a ſtone ſerves him for his pillow; his diet conſiſts of ſuch herbs and fruits as that mountain affords him; a neighbouring well allays his thirſt: He has dwelt in this place, and in this manner, eighty-three years, after he had travelled moſt parts of Europe and Aſia. Aſk him by what means he preſerved his life ſo long, he anſwers, "By living free from care, and by being indifferent to all things." He foretels things to come with marvellous ſucceſs, as has often been obſerved, which makes the people eſteem him a prophet.

The French tell me of another who lived longer than he, being three hundred ſixty and one years old when he died. He was called John of the Times, in regard he lived from the reign of Charles the Great to that of the Emperor Conrade. And being aſked what diet he uſed, his anſwer was, "Honey within, and oil without."

This comforts me with the hopes of ſeeing thee on earth, though many years hence; ſince no man can exceed thee in abſtinence, ſobriety, and the calmneſs of thy mind.

The Great Author of Life ſo grant, that if I may not enjoy this felicity here, yet I may not, by any enormous crimes, merit to be excluded thy ſociety in paradiſe.

Paris, 11th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1647.

## II.—*To* MURAT, *Baſſa.*

THE French are puffed up with the late defeat they gave the Spaniſh fleet in ſight of Naples. Their joy would know no bounds, were it not curbed by the loſs of the Duke of Breze, who was ſlain by a cannon bullet in this naval combat.

The young Prince of Conde has been alſo forced to withdraw his army from before Lerida, that place being ever fatal to the French. This has leſſened the diſgrace which the Count of Harcourt received the laſt campaign, in not being able to carry that town after ſix moons ſiege.

But the news from the Levant has elated all the Franks beyond meaſure; yet, I hope, the relations that are ſcattered abroad on that ſubject, are rather an effect of their wiſhes than of any real ſucceſs againſt the invincible Oſmans.

It is reported, that there have been two ſea-fights between our fleets and the Venetians; that in the former we loſt two thouſand men, ſeven galleys, and a baſſa; that in the latter the Venetians took forty galleys, ſix caramuſals, and fifty ſaiques, laden with men and ammunition for the relief of our army in Candy.

The honour of this laſt victory is aſcribed to the valour and conduct of Bernard Moroſini and General Grimani; Bernard ſucceeding his brother Thomas Moroſini, who was killed, as they ſay, in the firſt battle.

The Chriſtians every where expreſs great joy for theſe victories. The open ſtreets are filled with tables, covered with all manner of dainties, at the public coſt; they feaſt and revel night and day; the bells ring continually, and bonfires are made to celebrate the triumph of the

Nazarenes; they preſage to themſelves the conqueſt of the Ottoman empire, and eternal victories.

From Dalmatia the poſts bring daily news of our loſſes and diſgraces. It is known here, that the caſtles of Xemonido, Novigrade, Nadin, Carin, and all the places of ſtrength which we had in our poſſeſſion, except Cliſſa, are taken by the Venetians.

They laugh at our ſiege of Sebenico, where we loſt two thouſand men, and at length were forced to leave our camp to the Chriſtians, our general being frighted away by a few women.

It ſeems ſtrange and ominous to me, that thoſe arms which have formerly cruſhed the greateſt monarchies to pieces, and have changed the face of the whole earth, ſhould now be foiled by a few deſperadoes. I dare be thus far a prophet, that either the ſoldiers are diſguſted, which will produce a revolution, or the mighty empire of the Oſmans is in its decline, which God avert.

The Chriſtians (who are not ignorant of our affairs, nor of the very ſecrets of the ſeraglio), by an odd kind of charity, pray for the long life of Sultan Ibrahim; for, they ſay, our armies muſt needs miſcarry during his reign, moſt of the officers being offended at his licentious life, and cruel actions. Beſides, they tax him with profuſeneſs, in that he has not ſpared the private treaſury of gold, which, by the frugality of his predeceſſors, had been heaped together, and which it was not counted lawful for them to touch, unleſs in the utmoſt peril of the empire. They ſay, that by the additions which ſultan Amurat had made, this treaſure was augmented to above thirty millions of ſequins; but that our preſent emperor has ſquandered moſt of it away on his pleaſure. They compare him to Heliogabalus, the moſt effeminate prince that ever reigned; praiſing at the ſame time the

magnanimity and valour of Sultan Amurat, who, they ſay, was the ſtouteſt man on earth: they highly applaud his bravery at the ſiege of Babylon, when he accepted the challenge of the Perſian ſoldier; and entering into a ſingle combat with the unhappy Redhead, at one blow, with his ſabre, cleft him (though in armour) to the middle; in memorial whereof, thou knoweſt, that armour hangs to this day in the hazoda. In fine, they extol his juſtice, whereof he gave a remarkable inſtance, in puniſhing a certain hogia who had cheated a pilgrim of his jewels: Thou remembereſt that paſſage. And the ſtone mortar, wherein that miſerable wretch was pounded alive by his own ſentence, is yet to be ſeen at the gate of the divan, a monument of his villany, and the ſultan's juſtice.

Theſe things are not unknown in the Weſt; for the Nazarenes have their intelligences in the imperial city. Hence they derive occaſions to cenſure or praiſe the actions of our auguſt emperors, who are companions of the ſun, and brothers of the ſtars.

What I have ſaid, I truſt to thy integrity, whereof I have had experience. Thoſe who degenerate from that virtue, may their ſouls find no more reſt in the other world than a Frenchman's hat has in this, which is always in motion. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## III.—*To* Mahomet Techli, *Baſſa of Boſnia, at his Camp in Dalmatia.*

Thou art a fit man to lead the muſſulman armies, who durſt not hold up thy head againſt a few women: Perhaps thy mother's milk hangs yet on thy chin; thou

art not weaned from the diſcipline of the nurſery.—Was the ſtrong fortreſs of Sebenico of ſo ſmall a price, that thou ſhouldſt bafely decamp from before it, becauſe a few females appeared on the walls? Is this the way to aggrandize thy maſter? What will the Chriſtians ſay to this cowardice? Nay, what do they not ſay already: The news of that ſiege had reached all parts of Europe; the Nazarenes were big with expectation of the event. Now they know it, they laugh both at thee and at all the muſſulmans. Thou haſt brought a diſgrace on the moſt exalted empire in the world.

What if thou didſt loſe two thouſand men before the walls of that fort? Is that a ſufficient juſtification of thy raiſing the ſiege? Our glorious ſultans do not uſe to win cities and caſtles without blood; neither do they ſpare to ſacrifice the beſt part of their army to the honour of their arms, whilſt our indefatigable ſoldiers have mounted on heaps of ſlaughtered ſpahis, and ſcaled the battlements of their enemies. Whereas, thou wert afraid of a few ſtones that the women hurled on thy men from the walls! Thou art more effeminate than Sardanapalus! It were fitter for thee to handle the diſtaff, and ſpin for thy bread, than to draw a ſword in the field of honour. It is a wonder thy own ſoldiers do not abandon thee, being aſhamed to ſerve under ſo weak a commander.

I counſel thee, ſpeedily to recover thy loſt reputation by ſome notable ſervice. Let not perils affright thee; but remember that true fortitude ſurmounts all difficulties; and that thou canſt not paſs into the temple of honour but through that of virtue. It is not my part to project for thee: The whole country is before thee; thou knoweſt, or at leaſt oughteſt to know, the motions and ſtrength of thy enemies. Do ſomething ſpeedily

that ſhall ſpeak thee wiſe and valiant. Thou hadſt better loſe thy life ſo than by a bow-ſtring.

Take this advice as a mark of my friendſhip, for Mahmut uſes not ſo frankly to reprove thoſe whom he eſteems his enemies. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1645.

---

## IV.—*To* Achmet, *Baſſa.*

Not long ago arrived here a courier from Swedeland, bringing letters from Queen Chriſtina and Monſieur Chanut, the French reſident at Stockholm.

Among other matters they give an account, that on the twenty-ſeventh day of the ſeventh moon, that great princeſs had like to have been ſtabbed in the midſt of her guards, ſurrounded with her courtiers, before the altar of her God, at an hour when all the ſubjects of that kingdom were on their knees, to render Heaven propitious to her and the public.

That day there was a faſt proclaimed through all Swedeland, and he was eſteemed no good ſubject who did not repair to the public ſolemnities. The queen, to give an example, went at the third hour of the day to the moſque of her palace, attended by the great officers of ſtate, and a numerous train of the nobility. When the preacher (as is the cuſtom) had made an end of ſpeaking, all that were preſent fell on their knees, to perform the appointed devotions. But it being the faſhion of the Nazarenes to utter ſome ſecret preparative oriſons, the men covered their faces with their hats to be more recollected.

While all eyes were thus veiled, a certain fellow,

ſnatching the opportunity, ſteps from his place, and, without making any great noiſe, by large ſtrides, advances unſeen to the rails which encloſe the pavement next to the altar, where the queen was on her knees. But, in leaping over, he was perceived by a certain nobleman, who immediately cried out to the guards to ſtop the aſſaſſin. They croſſed their partizans, but the villain hurled them one againſt another with ſo great violence, that while they were ſtriving to recover their entangled weapons, he got quite through them. At which time the queen alſo raiſing herſelf up at the noiſe, puſhed the captain of her guards, who kneeled beſide her: He ſtarting from his place, leaped between the queen and the murderer, who was now within two paces of her. He ſeizes the wretch; and, upon immediate ſearch, they found two long ſharp-pointed knives about him, without ſheaths; one in his boſom, the other in his pocket. The priſon being in the caſtle, or palace of the queen, under her very apartment, ſhe was not willing he ſhould be carried thither, but ordered him to be reconducted to his own chamber, which was in the college of Stockholm, he being an eccleſiaſtic of the ſaid college; commanding alſo a good guard to be ſet over him, which was performed accordingly.

As ſoon as the wretch ſaw himſelf in his chamber, he ſaid aloud, "That when he went out in the morning, he little thought of ever returning again, having undertaken an action, in doing which he expected to loſe his life."

They uſed all diligence imaginable in diſcovering the authors of this intended murder, but could learn nothing more than that this fellow was a lunatic, whom at certain ſeaſons an unaccountable fury ſpurred on to many extravagancies.

Yet ſome ſuſpect that he was hired by the Lutheran clergy to give this execrable blow, who were apprehenſive that the queen, hearkening too much to the inſinuations of her tutor, who was a Calviniſt, would innovate the eſtabliſhed religion of the country.

If this be a well-grounded ſuſpicion, it follows at the beſt, that religion, which ought to correct the morals of men, and have an influence in reſtraining their exorbitant paſſions, is become the corrupter of their manners, and the fomenter of the moſt enormous crimes. But this is common among the Chriſtians, who being divided into innumerable parties, diſtinguiſhed by as many ſeveral names, yet each ſect is ſo ſure that their way is the only right path to ſalvation, that they ſpare for neither murders, ſacrileges, nor treaſons, to proſelyte the reſt to their opinion, being unwilling that any ſhould live who are not of the ſame mind with them.

The King of France, and the queen-regent, received the news of Queen Chriſtina's delivery from this deſigned blow with much joy, the intereſts of both crowns being at this time cloſely intermingled.

I can inform thee of nothing more remarkable at preſent, ſave, that certain letters are intercepted, which the Duke of Bavaria had written to the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Elector of Cologne; the contents of which diſcover, that the Duke of Bavaria is not far from a reconciliation with the emperor; and that, in the mean time, he only waits the event of things to direct him in the choice of his party.

God confirm thee in thy integrity, that thou mayeſt never waver or ſwerve from the ſervice and duty thou oweſt the Grand Signior.

Paris, 28th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1647.

V.—*To* CARA HALI, *a Phyſician at Conſtantinople.*

THOU haſt heaped many favours on me, yet I have never had an opportunity of making the leaſt acknowledgment. Accept now a ſmall preſent from Mahmut's hands, who being not maſter of wealth, can make no great ones. I ſend thee neither ſilver, gold, nor jewels, which the inſatiable avarice of mortals has violently torn from the bowels of their common mother; neither ſhalt thou receive from me any of the more familiar products of the earth, ſuch as grow on her ſurface. Expect no choice fruits, or wine, or oil, nor any thing framed by the art of man, whether for delight or uſe. What I ſend thee is the dew of heaven, a certain quinteſſence of the elements, an ethereal ſpirit; firſt condenſed into a vapour, then into a more liquid ſubſtance, and afterwards congealed into a gum. It is the celebrated manna of Calabria.

Adonai the Jew ſent it to me out of Italy, as a rarity. I knew not whom ſo properly to oblige with this preſent as the ſtudious of natural things, Hali the ſage phyſician, and my friend.

The philoſopher Averroes, our countryman, has written much of this excellent ſubſtance. He calls it the food of the airy angels; and ſays, the young ravens, crying in their neſts, are nouriſhed by this heavenly diet when the old ones forſake them; and that the cameleons ſeek no other repaſt during their lives, but the inviſible manna that every where floats in the morning air. He holds it poſſible, that a man, after he has paſſed his great climacter, may live without any other ſuſtenance, ſave what he receives from this heavenly diſtillation; that he may thus prolong his life for the ſpace of ſeven years, which will complete the appointed age of mortals. Many of the ſublimely inſtructed among the Arabians are

of the ſame opinion; ſo are not a few of the Hebrew rabbis; but the Chriſtians, who are gluttons, laugh at this doctrine as ridiculous and impracticable, forgetting at the ſame time what they read in their bible (which they pretend is the rule of their faith), that the Iſraelites had nothing elſe to feed on for a conſiderable time in the deſart, when they were almoſt eight hundred thouſand ſouls, and the greateſt part of them in their full ſtrength, men of arms, and inured to the toils of war.

Certainly it were a deſirable thing, that this divine largeſs were diſtributed to all the regions on earth. But God ſends his bleſſings to whom, and when he pleaſes. It is he that directeth the clouds, when they move through the air, and reſt not till they arrive at barren and dry places, where they pour forth their water to refreſh the earth, and render it fruitful. God! there is but one God, Lord of the worlds! Theſe are ſigns of his unity to true believers, but the incredulous have hardened their hearts.

It is recorded, that in former times, the ground whereon this manna deſcended, belonged to a certain nobleman of the country, who, covetous of the unuſual bleſſing, undertook to encloſe all that land with a high wall, to the end that ſo rare a gift might not be made common to every one; but, as ſoon as the workmen had begun to lay the foundation of this encloſure, the manna ceaſed to fall, and ſo continued as long as they proceeded in that envious work; which, when the lord of the ground was made ſenſible of, he commanded the workmen to deſiſt, ſaying withal, "The Almighty gives, and the Almighty takes away; henceforward, I will not ſeek to reſtrain the free gift of Heaven." Upon which, the manna deſcended daily, as before, and ſo has continued

to do ever ſince. Doubtleſs, this is a ſign of God's omnipotence.

If thou wilt permit me to play the philoſopher, I will tell thee my opinion, why this manna is ſeen rather in the kingdom of Naples than in any other region of the earth.

It is well known, that the earth of this country abounds with veins of ſulphur, which are diffuſed up and down through all parts, and heat the ſoil to an extraordinary degree; hence it follows, that the lower region of the air, in this country, muſt needs acquire a greater degree of heat and dryneſs alſo, being perpetually rarified by the fiery atoms, which every where tranſpire through the pores of the earth, as from a furnace.

This being ſo, it is not hard to conceive, that the vapours which are exhaled by the ſun into the upper region, in the heat of a ſummer's day, and there become impregnated by the ethereal ſpirit (which remains pure and unclothed in thoſe ſerener tracks, and conſequently is apt to incorporate with any proper vehicle), naturally deſcend again in the cool of the night; but not meeting with a congeneous body of vapours in the lower region, that air being over purified, and grown defecate through the too near neighbourhood of the burning ſoil, ſo that they cannot diffuſe themſelves through the air for want of a fit medium, they conſiſting of homogeneous parts, and following the natural poſition of the element, and the laws of gravity, contract themſelves into little globular forms, the lower they deſcend; thus ſettling on the leaves of trees, on the graſs and herbs, on ſtones, and any part of the earth, appearing like grains of tranſparent gum.

Hence alſo I conceive, that the ſame manna (which is nothing elſe but an ethereal ſpirit, embodied in light

and dulcid vapours) abounds in the air of moſt countries, but remains inviſible, rarely ſo far condenſed as to ſettle in a groſs body on the ground, becauſe the air of thoſe regions is not ſo rarified as is that of Calabria, having no ſuch ſubterranean fires to drink the vapours up: but being moiſt and thick, the deſcending manna, inſtead of contracting itſelf into globular bodies, and through its weight ſinking to the earth, dilates itſelf, and incorporates with the floating vapours; juſt as if you pour drops of water into a veſſel full of the ſame element, thoſe drops do not ſink to the bottom, but finding an homogeneous body, they mix with it, and are diſperſed every way; whereas, if there be nothing in the way to ſtop them, they immediately fall to the ground.

But I ſhall tire thee with my philoſophy, forgetting that I ſpeak to a man conſummate in all ſciences. Adonai relates many remarkable paſſages of this country, too tedious for a letter. I will only tell thee, in ſhort, that the kingdom of Naples is eſteemed one of the moſt delectable regions on earth, the trees flouriſhing twice a-year, and the ſoil abounding to prodigality with corn, wine, oil, and fruits, and all things neceſſary for the life of man. Yet the inhabitants have this proverb common among them; "The kingdom of Naples is a paradiſe of delights, but it is inhabited with devils;" ſo corrupted are the manners of the people.

Adieu, dear Hali, and think not Mahmut tedious in his letters, who has no other way, at this diſtance, to converſe with his friends.

Paris, 19th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1647.

## VI.—*To* KERKER HASSAN, *Baſſa.*

WHEN this diſpatch ſhall come to thy hands, be aſſured that Mahmut thy countryman, and ſlave to the ſlaves of the Grand Signior, wiſhes thee multiplicity of happineſs. I have many reaſons to honour thee, beſides the natural affection which is, or ought to be, between thoſe who were born in the ſame region. The many favours thou haſt done me, have far exceeded the obligation which ariſes from the vicinity of our birth; though that was ſo near, that a ſtrong man would have meaſured the diſtance with one flight of an arrow.

The preſent of kopha, for which I returned thee thanks in my laſt, has wrought wonderful effects on me, being a perfect cure of the melancholy to which I was before ſubject. It has freed me from many diſtempers, and I owe the preſent eaſe and cheerfulneſs I enjoy to this generous gift.

Methinks, while I am drinking this excellent liquor, I am at Conſtantinople, converſing with my friends. It revives in me the genius of Aſia, and ſo advantageouſly transforms the ideas of things which I ſee, that the croſſes on the tops of the Chriſtian temples appear to me as half moons; and my imagination preſents to me turbans inſtead of hats, as men walk along the ſtreets of Paris.

Doubtleſs, great is the force of what we eat or drink, which has occaſioned all wiſe lawgivers, among other ſanctions, to preſcribe certain rules of diet; and the care of our holy prophet has been exquiſite in this point, his prohibitions extending to all unclean meats and drinks, ſince they deprave the conſtitutions of men, and incline them to vice. But by his own example, he recommended to us the uſe of this admirable berry, impoſing a

new name on the tree that bears it, when he called it, the tree of purification. Hence it is, that all the muſſulmans affect to partake of the ſanctified benefit, it being the univerſal beverage of the Oſman empire.

Were the virtues of it known in theſe weſtern parts, it would match, if not ſupplant, the credit of their wines, ſince it equally refreſhes the ſpirits, without intoxicating the brain.

I know not whether thou haſt ſeen Peſteli Hali, my brother, ſince thy return from Arabia, or whether thou haſt heard the news he brought with him out of the Eaſt. He has ſurveyed the Indies, Tartary, China, Tunquin, Perſia, and other regions, whoſe names are hardly known in ſome parts of the Ottoman empire. Indeed, we have formerly had but an odd idea of thoſe remote countries; but eſpecially China has been hid from the greateſt part of the earth.

In my earlier years, I have heard men of gravity, who would be taken for knowing perſons, ſay, that China was but a tributary province of the Tartars, a contemptible corner of Aſia, and ſo barren, as it could hardly afford ſuſtenance for its inhabitants, which is a ſign it is well peopled. Aſſuredly our fathers were ignorant of this country, which, after the perpetual monarchy of the Oſmans, may be eſteemed the ſecond empire on earth.

My brother ſays, it contains ſixteen provinces, each as large as a kingdom, and that all together they fill up a track of ground as big as Europe, which thou knoweſt is one of the four quarters of the world, and that this vaſt dominion contains above an hundred millions of inhabitants.

The emperor who reigned when Peſteli Hali was there, was called Zunchin, a young prince, not above thirty

years of age, in whoſe veins ran the blood of ſixteen emperors, his progenitors.

In the year 1640, two great officers in his army, having drawn to their party an innumerable company of the ſoldiery, and being encouraged by ſome grandees at the court, made a revolt. The names of theſe rebels were Lycungz and Changien. They ſoon became maſters of five provinces; but, quarrelling about their ſhares, Lycungz cauſed his aſſociate to be poiſoned; and taking on himſelf the ſole command of the rebels, was proclaimed by them emperor of China. After which, he marched directly with his whole forces againſt Pekin, a city where the emperor kept his court, knowing that the conqueſt of this place would ſecure to him all the remaining provinces of the empire.

The Chineſe are reputed a moſt ingenious people, excelling in all manner of mechanic inventions, and the boldeſt architects in the world. They build bridges from one mountain to another, to ſhorten the travellers journey over the plain between them, and raiſe towers almoſt up to the clouds. Some of their cities are ſaid to be near thirty leagues in compaſs, having double walls and ditches; and my brother ſays, that Pekin wants not much of this extent; and that the palace of the emperor is near a league in circuit, environed by three walls and as many moats, beſides bulwarks and other fortifications. He adds, that this mighty city and palace is guarded by an hundred thouſand ſoldiers.

This impregnable place the rebels took by ſtratagem, which was able to have reſiſted all the force of Aſia. Lycungz held a private correſpondence with ſeveral grandees within the town and palace; by whoſe connivance he ſent great numbers of the ſtouteſt men in his army, diſguiſed in the habit of merchants, who lodging them-

ſelves in divers quarters of the city, on a day appointed, ſuddenly appeared in arms, and ſurpriſing the guards who defended the gates, ſlew them all, and opened the gates to the rebels.

Who can expreſs the confuſion and ſlaughter that filled all parts of the city with mourning and blood? The barbarous conqueror ſacrificed all the loyal and brave to his unpardonable ambition; diſarmed thoſe who eſcaped the firſt maſſacre; and having made himſelf abſolute maſter of the city, lays a cloſe ſiege to the imperial palace.

The emperor, now finding that he was betrayed, and that it was too late to defend himſelf from the cruel perſecution and inſult of the traitors, takes advantage of the ſhort reſiſtance which ſome of his faithful ſervants made, to conſult his own honour, with that of the empreſs and his daughter. He had above three thouſand wives, for whom he could not provide in that flood of calamities, all his care being employed to prevent the laſt triumph of his enemies, in not ſuffering the royal blood to be ſhed by the profane hands of thoſe villains. He entered into the gardens of the palace, accompanied only by his empreſs and daughter, with three faithful eunuchs. The young princeſs (who was a lady educated in all the Chineſe learning) ſeeing the great affliction of her royal parents, the inevitable ruin of their family, and the univerſal deſolation, fell on her knees, and ſpoke to her father as follows:

"My Lord,

"Since it is the will of the immortal gods thus to extinguiſh the luſtre and majeſty of our ſublime race, let their decrees be fulfilled; but let not me be a ſpectator of my parents fall, or ſurvive a tragedy at which the earth itſelf muſt tremble. Have this compaſſion on my

tender years, and let these eyes be closed, before death seal up yours, from which mine borrowed all their light: Think not, because I am young, I fear to die: I long to see our kindred gods, and represent the fate of China, so as to provoke their speedy vengeance. Surely our deified ancestors, at my complaint, would gather all the thunder in the heavens, and shower it down upon these perjured and ungrateful traitors; or else they would play the chemists, and extract the most envenomed influence of the stars, and dart the heavenly poison on the rebels, as they lie before these sacred walls, and thus would put a period to their cursed treason. Make no delay, my royal father, but try the experiment; release me from these chains, which hinder my escape to paradise; and let me be the herald of such news as never before surprised the blessed above."

The emperor, moved with this passionate address of his daughter, drew a dagger from his girdle, and therewith stabbed her to the heart; and then, struck with remorse at so unnatural a deed, covered his face with a veil of silk: Thus acting Agamemnon's part, when, to fulfil the oracle, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia.

After this, the empress, overwhelmed with so many sorrows, retired into a grove, and hanged herself with a silken cord on a tree. The emperor, seeing this mournful spectacle, was resolved no longer to delay his own death; wherefore, following her example, he dispatched himself likewise by a string. But he first bit a vein, and with his blood writ the following words:

"What is there now desirable on earth, after I am thus betrayed by my own subjects? I accuse not the inferior people; they are innocent: It is to the man-

darins I owe my ſudden fall, with the ruin of this mighty empire. Behold in me the royal line extinct. I am the laſt of ſixteen emperors. I, that was lord of ſo many ſpacious regions, guardian of the bed-chamber of the ſun, ſole monarch of the orient, lieutenant to the gods of the mines, poſſeſſor of infinite treaſures, at whoſe name an hundred millions of my ſubjects touched the ground with their foreheads, am now ready to be trampled under foot by the baſeſt of my ſlaves. But I will prevent my own diſgrace, and carry this majeſtic ſoil inviolate to my renowned fathers, whoſe vengeance, joined with that of all the gods, ſhall fall on the perfidious mandarins, who have betrayed both me and this exalted ſtate to ruin."

A narrative of theſe mournful paſſages was printed in the Chineſe language, ſuppoſed to be done by the order of the emperor's attendants, who followed him into the garden, and were witneſſes of what was ſaid and done; a copy of which my brother procured to be tranſlated into Arabic, by a merchant of our nation, who underſtood the Chineſe language, and reſided in Pekin.

In fine, my brother ſays, that when he departed from China, he left the tyrant Lycungz in poſſeſſion of the emperor's palace, where he found an hundred millions of ingots in gold and ſilver, beſides an ineſtimable treaſure of pearls and precious ſtones; all which wealth had been heaped together by the frugality of the Chineſe emperors.

By this thou mayeſt take an eſtimate of the grandeur and ſtrength of this formidable monarchy, of which we have had ſuch contemptible notions. Neither ſhalt thou have occaſion to be ſurpriſed at the monſtrous riſe and fortune of this rebel, who in ſo ſhort a time was lifted

to the height of human ſovereignty, when thou conſidereſt, that all things are ſubject to viciſſitude and change.

That God, who eſtabliſhes whom he pleaſes on the thrones of the earth, and, at the determined period of empires, depoſes ſuch as truſt in their ſtrength and riches, defend our ſovereign from treaſons, and from the arrows that fly in obſcurity.

Paris, 13th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## VII.—*To* DARNISH MEHEMET, *Baſſa.*

WHAT obligation have I to be concerned for the infidels? or what intereſt in the uncircumciſed? Yet Nature has tied all our race in ſome common bonds of affection, and humanity teaches us to rejoice at the deliverance of the oppreſſed.

The kingdom of Naples has long groaned under the yoke of Spaniſh tyranny. The labour of the people ſufficed not to pay the unreaſonable taxes that were impoſed on them. They ſweat blood to become yet more miſerable; whilſt their cruel maſters, having fleeced them to nakedneſs, would take advantage of their poverty to rivet their chains yet deeper, and render their ſervitude paſt redemption.

The people were ſenſible of their calamity, yet knew not how to ſhake off the yoke. It had galled them to the nerves and ſinews; their ſtrength was gone. Deſpair of redreſs had rendered them ſupine, and took from them the very power of meditating their recovery. But Heaven, which protects the oppreſſed, has raiſed up a youth from among the meaneſt of the people, to aſſert

the public liberty. A fiſherman, who has not ſeen four-and-twenty winters, has undertaken to reſtore the ancient privileges of the Neapolitans. Who can penetrate into the methods of eternal deſtiny, which makes uſe of ſo contemptible inſtruments to check the power of the greateſt monarchs?

This bold youth, inſpired with a zeal for the public, ran one day into the ſtreets, crying with a loud voice, "Long live the King of Spain, but let the corrupt officers periſh." He had no other weapon, ſave a reed in his hand, but was ſoon followed by a multitude of boys and young men, with clubs and ſtaves, who went along the ſtreets of that populous city, repeating the cry after him, "Long live the King of Spain, but let the corrupt officers periſh." At firſt, the citizens laughed at the infant tumult, but in leſs than two hours, this fiſherman (whoſe name was Maſſaniello) had enrolled above two thouſand boys.

The next day his numbers increaſed, by the acceſſion of all ſorts of lewd and idle perſons, malcontents, debtors, and ſuch as were deſirous of novelty. Nay, ſome of the better ſort of citizens ſhut up their ſhops, took arms, and mingled with the popular inſurrection; ſo that ere mid-day there were above ten thouſand men and boys marching along the ſtreets, and burning the cuſtom-houſes, with all their books of accounts, throughout the city.

When Maſſaniello beheld himſelf at the head of ſo vaſt a multitude, he thought it time to declare the reaſon of his raiſing this tumult; wherefore, getting on an eminent place in one of the markets, he ſpoke to his followers to this effect:

"Rejoice, O ye faithful people, and ſend up accla-

mations to the God of Heaven, who hath this day put it into your hearts and hands to be your own redeemers. As for me, my ſpirit burneth within me to ſee the public oppreſſion; and I ſet no value on my life, when I firſt began this glorious enterpriſe. One of the princes threatened me with the galleys if I perſiſted; but here are thouſands my witneſſes, that, inſtead of fearing him, I ſmote him on the breaſt, and ſent him away joyful that he eſcaped with his life. O ye faithful people, truſt not the princes or nobles; they are the men who oppreſs you, and would enſlave you; truſt in your arms, and the juſtice of your cauſe. God has brought you together; let nothing ſeparate you till you have freed your country, yourſelves, your wives and children, from perpetual ſervitude. Chooſe you a leader, a man of courage and reſolution, who is willing to ſacrifice his life for the common good. As for me, I have hitherto lived a fiſherman, and ſo I intend to die."

The people, exceedingly moved with this ſpeech, choſe him with one accord for their leader, crying out with loud acclamations, "Long live Maſſaniello, the Patron of the Neapolitan liberties."

The firſt thing he did after he was confirmed in this authority, was to ſet open the priſons, and enliſt the priſoners under the banner of the people.

Then he divided this confuſed army into regiments and companies; and ſent forth a proclamation throughout Naples, commanding all to take arms, on pain of having their houſes burned; ſo that in a little time he had above fifty thouſand armed men at his heels.

Thus accompanied, he marches directly toward the viceroy's palace, veſted in cloth of ſilver, with a naked

ſword in his hand. He was accompanied by a cardinal, who undertook to be a mediator between the viceroy and the people. His preſence reſtrained the multitude within ſome bounds of moderation, for they reverenced him as the father of the city. Yet they burned above ſixty palaces of the nobles to the ground, with all their furniture and goods; and it was preſent death for any one to reſcue or purloin any thing from the flames; ſo rigorouſly juſt was this new lawgiver, this Moſes of the Neapolitans. It was in vain for the viceroy to oppoſe force againſt ſo formidable an inſurrection: He entertained the young fiſherman with ceremonies due to a prince; and having concluded a truce, gave him the title of Chief Tribune of the faithful people. This increaſed the veneration the citizens had already conceived for Maſſaniello; ſo that in a day or two more he ſaw himſelf at the head of an hundred and fifty thouſand armed men. He gave out all orders for the republic, publiſhed new edicts, and all commiſſions were iſſued in his name. He procured the gabels to be for ever aboliſhed, reſtored the people to their ancient liberty; and, in fine, was murdered by his own followers.

Let me not ſeem an advocate for ſedition, when I tell thee there was ſomething brave and heroic in the actions of this youth. So ſtrange a revolution, in ſo ſhort a time, has ſcarce been heard of in the world: For a beardleſs ſlave to raiſe himſelf in ſix days to as abſolute and uncontroulable a ſovereignty as the greateſt monarch on earth enjoys; to be obeyed by an infinite number of people, without the leaſt heſitation or demur, were it for life or death; and all this without any motive of ambition or intereſt, but only to aſſert the public liberty, is a convincing argument of his virtue, and ſhows that Heaven approved his enterpriſe. But then, again, for him to loſe

all this power in four days more, to be murdered in cold blood by his own party, by the people whose cause he had so successfully vindicated; this shows the instability of human affairs, and that there is nothing permanent on this side the moon.

I pray God to inspire the ministers of the Sublime Porte to take such measures as may preserve the mussulman peace. Adieu.

Paris, 13th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## VIII.—*To* SOLYMAN, *his Cousin, at Constantinople.*

WHEN I closed up my last, the hour of the post was near expired, and the messenger who carries my letters to him, hastened my dispatch, preventing what I had farther to say to thee.

I am solicitous for thy welfare, both as thou art a mussulman and so near a relation. Do not forfeit those titles, by degenerating from thy kindred, and from all the illuminated of God. Truth is comprised in a little room, but error is infinite. Thou makest a wrong inference from the moderation and charity of the true believers, when thou concludest, That because they believe, it shall go well with all honest men, let their opinions and ceremonies be what they will; therefore thou shalt be safe, in retrenching the endless and burdensome washings (as thou termest them) of the mussulmans, so long as thou leadest a good moral life.

Art thou such a friend to idleness and impurity, that thou wilt, by a most pitiful sophistry, cheat thyself of salvation, rather than take the pains to wash thyself, after the manner, and at the times appointed by the prophet of God, and practised by our fathers, and all the faith-

ful throughout the world? If it be allowed, that such as, either out of ignorance, or hindered by some other invincible cause, do not embrace our holy law, are not circumcised, and repair not to the assemblies of the faithful, shall nevertheless enter into paradise, provided they obey the law of nature, imprinted on their hearts; does it follow, therefore, that one who has been bred up in the undefiled faith, who has been circumcised, and, lifting up his right hand to Heaven, has pronounced the seven mysterious words, which cannot be repealed; does it follow, I say, that such an one shall be regarded by God or his prophet, any otherwise than as a heretic or an infidel, if he live not up exactly to the graces that have been given him? No, assure thyself, if thou art in the number of these, thou art an apostate; thy virtues are vices, and all thy good works are an abomination.

Remember the piety and magnanimous zeal of Assan Hali thy grandfather, who, when he was taken prisoner by the Cossacks, was entertained with extreme rigour and severity. Nevertheless, a certain Jew in the city who knew him, brought him every day, by permission of the keeper, as much water as would suffice to wash him, and to quench his thirst. But one day, as he went with his accustomed load, and was entering the gate of the prison, the keeper, either out of malice or wantonness, spilt most of the water on the ground, forbidding the Jew, at the same time, to bring any more that day.

The honest Hebrew went in with the remainder of the water, and delivered it to the prisoner, who presently prepared to wash himself, after the accustomed manner of the mussulmans. The Jew seeing that, told him, there was not water enough to quench his thirst; and therewith related to him what the keeper had done. "I see there is but a little (replied the virtuous old man),

but he that drinks, or eats, before he has waſhed himſelf, is guilty of defiling his ſoul, and is not worthy to be numbered among the true believers. Therefore it is better for me to die for thirſt, than violate the law brought down from Heaven, and tranſgreſs the traditions of my fathers." Having ſaid this, he waſhed himſelf, being reſigned to Providence.

Couſin, deceive not thyſelf with vain opinions, nor ſuffer hypocrites to ſeduce thee. Imitate the adder, and ſtop thy ears againſt the crafty inſinuations of heretics. It is reported of this little ſerpent, that, by natural inſtinct, being ſenſible when a magician is about to utter words, which being heard will enſnare it, lays one ear cloſe to the ground, and with its tail ſtops the other, to the end the enchantment may have no effect.

Admit not any man to thy converſation, who ſhall attempt to warp thee from the ſimplicity of the faith and obedience which thou oweſt to the apoſtle of God. Without water, there is no purity on this ſide the grave. That element has a force in it of which thou art not aware; it is the third in the rank of living principles; it is the tabernacle of the winds; the ſeraglio of the generative ſpirit; the ſtage of wonders: in fine, it is the purifier of every thing that has breath.

Thou knoweſt, that to ſerve the neceſſities of the propheſt and his army, underſtanding and ſpeech was given to a fountain in Arabia, which having promiſed to follow him to the place of his repoſe, made a channel through the deſart, and kept pace with the troops of the faithful, till they came to Medina Talnabi, that ſo the ſubmiſſive to the will of Heaven might not want that element, without which life itſelf would be a burden and a curſe.

And yet thou ſpeakeſt contemptibly of water, as a

very indifferent thing, whether we uſe it or not, any otherwiſe than to quench our thirſt.

Thus, making no difference between the many advantages we reap from that element, and that common uſe to which the beaſts put it. In how many places of the Alcoran does the Holy Prophet record the mercy of God, in giving us water that is freſh and not ſalt! How does he celebrate his wiſdom and goodneſs, for directing the clouds to barren and dry places! Thou canſt not be ignorant, that it is one of the encomiums of paradiſe, that there are gardens wherein flow many rivers. And after all this, wilt thou deſpiſe ſo holy and bleſſed a gift, without which, earth and heaven, men and angels, could not be completely happy?

Go learn then of the Indian idolaters, who have never heard of the book of glory; go learn of theſe barbarians, to prize this ſanctified creature. They travel many hundreds of leagues to bathe themſelves in the waters of Ganges. With thoſe incorruptible and all-purging ſtreams, the Bramins fill certain veſſels, and tranſport the invaluable liquor to the utmoſt parts of that wide empire. They travel on foot, ſometimes two thouſand miles together, each man with his load of that precious water, to ſupply the wants of thoſe who live ſo remote from the river; ſo that a bottle of it is many times ſold to the princes and nobles for two hundred ſequins, or eight hundred rupees; and yet for all this, thoſe very princes would not die with a ſafe conſcience, had they not at leaſt once in their lives made a pilgrimage to this renowned river, and bathed themſelves in the waves which blot out ſins.

O couſin, let the example of theſe infidels make thee bluſh at thy impiety, and excite thee to a diligent and indiſpenſable practice of cleanneſs; ſo ſhalt thou have a

ſound mind, in a healthy body, and the angel of thy nativity will not ſhun thy perſon. Adieu.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## IX.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE defeat of the Venetians and Morlacks in Boſna has reached theſe parts. That news is not unwelcome to Mahmut: But I could wiſh our general had uſed his victory with more moderation. The Chriſtians term him barbarian, ſavage, devil incarnate, and load him with execrations; for, having taken priſoner the captain of the Morlacks, he cauſed him to be flayed alive, and afterwards to be impaled. This captain was an eccleſiaſtic; they call him Stephano Sorich; and, in honour of his zeal and fidelity, they entitle him, the Good Prieſt. They applaud his magnanimity and courage in battle, and no leſs do they extol his conſtancy, during the torments of ſo cruel and ignominious a death: But I tremble to think of the blaſphemies and curſes they utter againſt our holy Prophet, and all the muſſulmans: For this cruel execution has ſcandalized the Nazarenes, and embittered them, even to fury. Their revenge is implacable; they would go to hell themſelves, provided the true faithful might be damned for company.

What will our divine lawgiver ſay? or what apology will our general make, when the ſent of God ſhall charge him with driving ſo many thouſand ſouls into an irreconcileable hatred of the undefiled faith? For they look not on this as the action of a private man, but of one who repreſents the perſon of our auguſt ſovereign, the great protector of the law brought down from Heaven.

They ſuppoſe him to be honoured with the particular inſtructions of his maſter; and therefore they ſay the ſultan has authoriſed this unheard-of cruelty, and that our religion countenances tyranny, and the moſt nefandous method of ſhedding innocent blood.

I am no advocate for infidels; yet ſuffer me to vindicate Nature, which is the common parent of us all; ſuffer me to be ſolicitous for the honour of our holy profeſſion, which is blemiſhed by this inhumane murder. What offence had this unhappy captain given, that deſerved ſo dire a puniſhment? Was it becauſe he fought valiantly, and performed wonders in defence of his country? This is nothing but what becomes every honeſt man to do; and, had our general been truly brave, he would have entertained his priſoner with a reſpect due to his merit.

Who was a more inveterate enemy of the muſſulmans than the renowned Iſchenderbeg, Prince of Albania? Who more valiant or ſucceſsful againſt the Ottoman armies? It is recorded of him, that he never ſhunned a battle, never fled from his enemies, never ſhrunk from perils, nor was ever wounded but once in all his life; and yet he ſuſtained a continual war from two ſucceſſive Oſman emperors, defeated ſeven viſiers with their forces, took all their ammunition and baggage, and, in ſeveral combats, ſlew with his own hands above two thouſand Mahometans.

Our fathers did not baſely revenge themſelves for all this, but cheriſhed a veneration for this heroic enemy, and honoured the very duſt of ſuch an extraordinary perſon; for, after his death, having conquered Albania, they ſought out his tomb, where they performed their devotions, as at the ſepulchre of a prophet; they opened the dormitory of the defunct warrior, and, with religious ſolemnity, took up his bones, ſharing the honour-

ed relics among them, and wrapping them in ſilk, wore them continually at their breaſts, eſteeming them as ſacred amulets againſt misfortune.

Surely our general would bluſh at an example of ſo great virtue; but perhaps he was incenſed, becauſe his captive was a prieſt; miſtaken zeal might prompt him to this horrid butchery. Thou, who art Juſtice itſelf, wilt not approve his bloody paſſion, when thou conſidereſt, that the prieſts of Jeſus are men as well as others, and, if they live in error, the fault is in their education. However, many of them are humble, chaſte, ſober, and lovers of virtue. If there be others, whoſe corrupt lives have contradicted this character, let the crime and the puniſhment reſt on their heads; it is not reaſonable that the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the faults of the guilty. The captain of the Morlacks had the reputation of a devout and juſt man, and a ſtout champion for his country; had he been taken for a ſpy, or an aſſaſſin, the law of arms would have adjudged him to death.—Yet ſuch was the clemency of Porſenna, King of the Hetrurians, that when Mutius Scævola, a valiant Roman, came into his camp, with deſign to murder him, but by miſtake ſtabbed one of the captains, thinking it had been Porſenna, and, to revenge that miſcarriage on himſelf, thruſt his hand into the fire, till the fleſh was conſumed to the bones; the king, aſtoniſhed at his undaunted ſpirit, ſent him away in peace, raiſed the ſiege of Rome, and entered into a ſtrict friendſhip with that nation; ſuch honour he bore to the fortitude of his enemy, and deſigned murderer. But the captain of the Morlacks was not taken under theſe circumſtances; he loſt his liberty in the heat of battle, bravely combating at the head of his army.

Wouldſt thou know the grounds then of our general's cruelty? It was purely for the ſake of a jeſt. There

went a report, that when this prieſt was born, his body was all over raw, ſo that the phyſicians were forced, by art, to ſupply him with a ſkin. Our cruel general, to ſport himſelf in the poor man's miſery, commanded him to be flayed alive; uttering at the ſame time this inhuman ſarcaſm, "There was no reaſon that he ſhould carry a ſkin out of the world, who brought none in." This is atteſted by two gentlemen who were made priſoners with their captain, heard theſe words, ſaw him executed, and afterwards made their eſcape.

The Nazarenes vow to revenge this unparalleled cruelty on all the muſſulmans that fall into their hands, if this butcher (as they term him) be ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. I tell thee, ſuch barbarous actions draw down the vengeance of Heaven on thoſe that commit them, and excite the very beaſts of the earth to make war, and rid the world of ſuch monſters.

Thou knoweſt what uſe to make of this intelligence; I will not pretend to inſtruct the ſecond miniſter in the Ottoman empire.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1647.

---

## X.—*To the* MUFTI.

IF there be any truth in what the aſtrologers tell us, that the ſtars have influence on the governments of the earth, one would think that Spain lies under ſome malignant aſpect.

The fortune of that kingdom has for a long time run retrograde: They have had nothing but loſſes by ſea and land; the revolution in Portugal, the revolt of Catalonia and Rouſſillon, the loſs of Ormus in Perſia, and the de-

fection of Goa, with other rich towns of traffic in the Indies, came one upon the back of another.

Since which there have been many towns and caſtles taken from the Spaniards in Flanders. The French made an inſurrection in Palermo, breaking open the priſons, and releaſing the priſoners; and grew to ſuch a head, that the viceroy, fearing they would revenge the tragedy of the Sicilian veſpers, to pacify the multitude, was forced to repeal the edicts for taxes, and diſannul them for ever, and to paſs an act of general indemnity, both to the rabble, and to the priſoners whom they had freed.

This tumultuous ſpirit paſſed from thence to the kingdom of Naples, and there, like an infection, ſoon ſpread itſelf through all parts, both of city and country: Two hundred thouſand men took up arms, to vindicate the privileges of the Neapolitans, under the conduct of a a poor young fiſherman. I have already tranſmitted to the Sublime Porte, a relation of this formidable ſedition, wherein it may be thought, I have diſcovered too much tenderneſs to the infidels, and ſeemed to favour the violence of a faction. But I hope thou wilt acquit me, when thou conſidereſt, that theſe governments of the Nazarenes are not to be compared to the ſacred Oſman empire, which is eſtabliſhed by a divine right; it having been determined by the angel, that he who ſhould poſſeſs the glorious dormitory of the ſent of God, ſhould be intitled, "The ſovereign of all the kings on earth." Therefore it would be a crime of the higheſt nature, to raiſe a tumult or ſedition within the territories of our auguſt emperor, whoſe dominion is confirmed to him for ever by a patent from Heaven. But the caſe of the Nazarene princes is different, who being profeſſed enemies to the meſſenger of God, have no other right to any thing, but what their ſwords purchaſe; and, therefore,

when they prey upon others, and by rapine and ſpoil augment their riches, it is no wonder if the great Avenger of crimes ſtirs up ſome undaunted ſpirits to free their country from ſlavery and ruin.

Thoſe who are curious have remarked many obſervable circumſtances in this revolution at Naples; as, that it was foretold by an aſtrologer, a conſiderable time before it happened, who pointed out the very year wherein it ſhould come to paſs. The extraordinary eruptions alſo of Mount Veſuvius, ſome years ago, were eſteemed as preſages of ſome approaching troubles in the ſtate; for it rained aſhes on the city of Naples. I ſpoke of this mountain in one of my former letters.

It is reported alſo, that about the ſame hour wherein Maſſaniello, the ringleader of the ſeditious, was murdered, there was ſeen a man hovering in the air, over the principal temple of Naples, with a ſword in his hand, which he was putting up in his ſcabbard; and that a voice was at the ſame time heard from on high, to utter theſe words, "His labour is finiſhed, give him reſt."

This is certain, that whilſt he was at the head of an hundred thouſand men, ſeven aſſaſſins were hired by ſome of the princes to ſhoot him; yet none of the bullets could penetrate his body, though unarmed, and only covered with his fiſhing rags; and it was evident, that theſe bullets ſmote him in divers places, his garments being marked with them, and he ſtaggered with the force of the blows.

Theſe are extraordinary occurrences, and would tempt one to believe, that this young fiſherman was the inſtrument of providence, and that Heaven protected both him and his cauſe.

It is true, indeed, it ſeemed at laſt as if he were abandoned by that divine power, which had carried him through

ſo important an enterpriſe, in that he was ſlain by his own ſoldiers. But then it muſt be remembered, that this was not done till his work was finiſhed, and he went beyond his commiſſion. Want of ſleep, the multitude of affairs, and much wine, had impaired his reaſon, and rendered him frantic; ſo that his actions were inſupportable, and his own admirers grew weary of him. After his death, his head was cut off, and carried up and down the ſtreets on a lance, and his body was dragged through the kennels. Yet the very next day, the multitude, to ſhow their own fickleneſs, took the dead body out of a ditch, where they had laid it all night; they waſhed and embalmed it, and having joined the head to it, carried it with great pomp and ſolemnity to the principal temple of Naples, attended with drums and trumpets, and above a thouſand prieſts, with torches in their hands; a crown of gold was put on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand.

Thus the Neapolitans honoured that beardleſs youth, who in ten days time had cauſed ſuch a revolution, as is ſcarce to be paralleled, for he was an abſolute monarch in effect, during that time; and of him it may be ſaid, as it was once of an emperor, that during his whole reign there was neither ſpring, nor autumn, nor winter, for his royalty begun and ended in the ſeventh moon.

By letters from Nathan Ben Saddi at Vienna, I perceive he is moleſted with ſcruples about his religion, being deſirous to build upon the ſureſt foundation. I ſent him the beſt advice I could, without making myſelf a hypocrite, which, thou knoweſt, is more offenſive to God, than an open ſinner. I drew up an abſtract of the muſſulman records, and preſented him with the faithful genealogy, from Iſmael, the ſon of the patriarch Ibrahim, down to our holy Prophet. This I did to rectify an old

inherent error of the Jews, who boaſt, that only the ſons of Iſaac were true believers. I endeavoured not to proſelyte him by ſophiſtry and artifice, but referred him for better ſatisfaction to the writings of the ancients. I promiſed to furniſh him with books of our law, and the comments of our holy doctors. This is impoſſible for me to perform, whilſt I am in this place, unleſs thou, who art a guide of thoſe who ſeek the truth, vouchſafeſt to ſecond my zeal. I addreſs to thee, ſovereign prelate of the faithful, in behalf of a deſcendant from the younger brother of Iſmael, in behalf of one circumciſed, but not in the right way; favour him with thy divine inſtructions, and ſupply him with treatiſes of light and reaſon. A ſeaſonable application may bring this Hebrew into the number of the muſſulmans, for he is already diſguſted at the ſynagogue.

But if I have preſumed too far, in endeavouring to ſnatch a ſoul from the paws of Tagot, correct me in thy wiſdom, for I am but as an infant before thee.

Paris, 15th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

XI.—[*The beginning of this Letter is wanting in the Italian Tranſlation, the original paper being torn.*]

— — — — — — —All men's hearts are filled with joy, for this proſperous news, whilſt I mourn for the diſhonour of our arms. Nothing but ſad tidings grate my ears from thoſe parts, and more melancholy preſages poſſeſs my ſoul. Methinks I ſee thick clouds gathering over the imperial city; my ſleep is diſturbed with fearful viſions; I ſtart in my bed, and, waking, lay my hand on my ſword, as if ſome danger were at hand; I dream of tumults and diſorders, neighing of horſes and claſhing

of arms in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople. I pray God avert the omen.

It is reported here, that Ali, the Sangiac-bey of Lippa, is taken priſoner, and that his ſon was tormented to death before his face, in a manner peculiar to the invention of the moſt barbarous tyrants; for they cauſed ſharp thorns to be thruſt between his nails and his fleſh, which creates an intolerable anguiſh; they laid him on a bed of iron ſpikes, and poured melted lead, drop by drop, on all parts of his fleſh; then they made a ſmall fire, and roaſted him ſlowly to death: if he chanced to groan, or make the leaſt complaint, in the midſt of thoſe grievous tortures, they bid him remember the good prieſt Sorech, who ſet him an example of conſtancy and courage, in that he never ſhed a tear, or ſo much as ſighed, when he was flayed alive.

Thou ſeeſt that revenge is ſweet, even to thoſe who having received no injury in their own perſons, yet are touched to the quick with the violence that is done to another. This will appear in the humour of the Italians, who proſecute their enemies with irreconcileable hatred and malice, whole families being often engaged in executing the reſentments of two ſingle perſons, who firſt began the quarrel. But much more forcible is this paſſion in thoſe who have been notoriouſly hurt themſelves; and the revenge of a certain captain was extravagant, who, being informed that his general had debauched his wife, took an opportunity to ſingle him out from all other company, pretending to walk in the fields; when he had him there alone, he clapped a piſtol to his breaſt, threatening to kill him forthwith if he moved hand or foot. Then he upbraided him with what he had done, in ſuch language, as convinced the general his life was in extreme danger; wherefore he humbled himſelf, and confeſſed his crime,

begging of the captain to ſpare his life, and he would prefer him forthwith to the beſt office in the army, next his own. But the furious Italian would not ſell his honour ſo cheap: He forced him to deny God, and utter many blaſphemies, in hopes of ſaving his life; and when he had thus done, the captain ſaid, Now my revenge is complete, ſince I ſhall ſend thee body and ſoul to the devil. With that he piſtolled him.

But leaving theſe infidels to their diabolical paſſions, I am concerned at the captivity of thy brother, if it be true which is related here, that he was taken in his return from Canea to Conſtantinople. It will coſt the Baſſa of Algiers a thouſand crowns to ranſom him.

Adieu, Renarba; and if thou art deſirous to raiſe thyſelf, take that method which I have now propoſed to thee. God be propitious to thy endeavours.

Paris, 4th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XII.—*To the Venerable* MUFTI.

THOU wilt ſay the Neapolitans are a reſtleſs people, when thou ſhalt know that there have been no leſs than forty general inſurrections in this kingdom, ſince its firſt ſeparation from the Grecian empire, whereof it was formerly a member; and that, in the ſpace of two years, they have had five kings, all of different nations.

One would have thought, that after the death of Maſſaniello, the ring-leader of the late innovation, the popular heats would have ſlackened, and the people returned to their duty; but the paſſionate deſire of liberty cauſed them to continue in arms, till the confirmation of their privileges ſhould come from the king of Spain.

In the mean time, Don John of Auſtria, who lay before the city with a fleet of fifty galleons, played upon them inceſſantly with his cannon by ſea, and the caſtles battered them by land.

Cardinal Mazarini, who has the earlieſt intelligence of foreign tranſactions, has had a principal hand in fomenting this flame; for as ſoon as the news of Maſſaniello's death arrived here, he diſpatched away couriers to Rome, with inſtructions to the French ambaſſador at that court, requiring him to uſe all poſſible means to cheriſh the tumults in Naples, and not neglect ſo fair an opportunity of reducing that kingdom under the protection of France.

It will not appear ſtrange, that this great genius ſhould aim at the conqueſt of Naples, when we conſider, that this kingdom abounds in all manner of riches; to which its fortunate ſituation contributes not a little, for it lies in the moſt temperate part of the world; and the inhabitants are not ſecond to any people of Europe in martial courage and bravery. This is a bait which tempts the cardinal, who is not ignorant how valiantly the anceſtors of the preſent Neapolitans behaved themſelves in the wars of Cæſar and Pompey, and thoſe between the Romans and Carthaginians; nor are they leſs celebrated for the ſtout reſiſtance they made againſt the Huns, Goths, and Vandals; ſo that this kingdom, were it once brought under the French dominion, would prove a nurſery, from whence this monarch might draw many thouſands of excellent ſoldiers, to ſerve him in his wars.

Beſides, it would be more commodious for him to make incurſions from hence into the Pope's territories, if there ſhould ariſe any difference between the two courts, as there often do, about the rights of the Gallican church, the franchiſes of the ambaſſadors of this crown in Rome, and other privileges, to which they pretend.

Therefore, the French ambaſſador, according to the inſtructions of Mazarini, ſent commiſſioners to treat privately with the people of Naples, offering them two millions of crowns, twenty galleons, with eight-and-fifty galleys, and other veſſels: They accepted the propoſal, being weary of the Spaniſh government, and deſirous of novelty, encouraged alſo by what thoſe commiſſioners repreſented to them, concerning the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, who, by ſtanding on their guard, and uſing that power which God and nature had given them, for the defence of their lives and liberties, were now, in a manner, become a free people, having aboliſhed the monarchy, and ſet up a commonwealth; and this they told them was alſo done by Cardinal Mazarini's counſels and aſſiſtance. Now all the cry in Naples was, Let France and the people of England flouriſh; and let the faithful Neapolitans aſſert their own liberty. So blind were theſe people, as not to conſider, that in putting themſelves under the protection of the French, they did but exchange one bondage for another, it being impoſſible for any foreign prince to keep this kingdom, and pay all his officers, civil and military, together with thoſe under their commands, with much leſs charge than the revenues amount to: And the French are as good at inventing new taxes, as any court in Europe.

However, the Neapolitans were enchanted with the thoughts of ſo much gold, and other aſſiſtance offered by the French commiſſioners, and ſweetened with their fair words, and glorious promiſes; ſo that they immediately ſent deputies, to entreat the Duke of Guiſe, who was then at Rome, to come and protect them, in taking on him the chief command of their arms.

This prince, thinking it a generous action to relieve the oppreſſed, and that at the ſame time he ſhould do a con-

ſiderable ſervice to the king of France, in rendering him maſter of this noble and opulent kingdom, went to Naples, where at firſt he was received with infinite applauſe, was made their general, took an oath of fidelity to the people, did many notable ſervices, but was in the end betrayed, and ſent priſoner to Spain.

If the generoſity and brave reſolution of this prince has acquired commendation from ſome, in attempting to reſcue theſe people from the tyranny of their governors, yet his conduct is called in queſtion by others, who ſay, he diſcovered but little prudence in truſting himſelf to the Neapolitans, who had already ſacrificed two of their generals: For, after the death of Maſſaniello, they choſe another captain, whom they called the Prince of Maſſa; this prince falling under their ſuſpicion, was beheaded by the inconſtant people.

It is certain, that there is little confidence to be put in the multitude, whoſe paſſions ebb and flow, and are more tempeſtuous than the ſea. Yet a brave and generous mind will ſhun no dangers to ſerve his prince and his country, for whom it is a glorious martyrdom to die. There is no great undertaking without hazards, and he that is afraid to venture his liberty and life in a good cauſe, is not worthy to bear arms. Had the Duke of Guiſe ſucceeded, his conqueſt of Naples had made him viceroy of one of the largeſt kingdoms in Europe. It is ſaid to be five hundred leagues in circuit, containing twelve ample provinces; twenty archbiſhopricks; biſhopricks, one hundred twenty-ſeven; thirty caſtles; barons, one thouſand four hundred; earls, fifty-three; forty marquiſſes; thirty-four dukes, and twenty princes. The inhabitants of this kingdom are ſaid to be above two millions. The ordinary revenues of the king amount to three millions of crowns yearly, beſides the voluntary do-

natives which have been given by the ſubjects of this ſtate to their kings, within the ſpace of forty years, amounting to twenty-eight millions, and ſix hundred thouſand ducats. This kingdom is watered by an hundred and fifty rivers, beſides ten lakes ſtored with all manner of fiſh; among which is one called Averno, over which if any birds fly, they immediately drop down dead. The ancient Pagans had ſtrange opinions of this lake, it being the place where they uſed to ſacrifice men to the infernal gods; and hard by is the cave of one of the Sibyls.

There are thirty high mountains in this country, of which Adonai relates many ſtrange and delightful paſſages, (for it is from him I received this account of the kingdom). I will not trouble thee with a repetition of all that this Jew tells me, only one thing is worthy of remark.

He ſays, that the bodies of the three young Hebrews, who were put into the burning oven by the Babylonian monarch, becauſe they would not adore his idols, are preſerved in a moſque on one of theſe mountains; and that on the ſaid hill, no eggs, fleſh, or milk, will endure an hour without putrefaction, but preſently breed an infinite number of worms. He ſpeaks in the praiſe of theſe mountains, which are clothed with vineyards, gardens, and woods, on the top and ſides; and in their bottoms have very rich mines of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, cryſtal, alabaſter, and adamant. In fine, Adonai, who has travelled over all this kingdom, calls it the fertileſt region of all Italy, which is eſteemed the paradiſe of Europe.

Doſt thou not think now, venerable guide of the elect, that the Duke of Guiſe had reaſon to prefer the honour of conquering ſo renowned a kingdom, to the ſafety of his perſon? Or wilt thou not rather conclude, that the reduction of this happy ſtate would be an expedition wor-

thy of the Ottoman arms? It is certain, that the riches and plenty of this region have tempted more nations to invade it, than any other kingdom on earth; it having been the prize, at which no less than five-and-twenty several nations have aimed.

Cardinal Mazarini is much troubled at the Duke of Guise's captivity, and has offered great sums of money for his ransom; but the king of Spain rejects all propofals of that nature; so that it is thought the Cardinal will contrive some way for the duke's escape, either by bribing his keepers, or by some secret stratagem.

I am not much concerned for the infidels; but it would be no small joy to hear, that some care were taken for the redemption of Mahomet Celebe, who, thou knowest, has not deserved ill of the Sublime Porte. Adieu, holy Patriarch, and forget not Mahmut in thy addresses to Heaven.

Paris, 27th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XIII.—*To* Abdel Melec Muli Omar, *Superintendent of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

Thou to whom the issues of Paradise are revealed, and the road of the angels when they come down and go up through the seven heavens! Thou that canst marshal the host of the stars, and understandest the discipline of the armies living and strong, the orders of the potentates encamped in the fields of light, the domestic guards of the throne blessed for ever; tell me the age of the world, and declare the beginning of time: Resolve me, whether this mighty fabric be but of yesterday, that is, of five or six thousand years standing, as the Jews and Christians say, or whether the years of its duration be not past a calcule.

The viſions of thy progenitor, the lieutenant to the ſent of God, are extant in the Arabic tongue. In them it is written, "My ſoul on a ſudden became as though it had wings; a ſpirit entered me, and a ſubtle wind lifted me up to the top of Mount Uriel, where I beheld marvellous things. I looked behind me, and ſaw the ages that were paſt; and lo, they were without number, or beginning. I beheld the four ſeaſons of the year ever returning at their accuſtomed time, and the ſun forſook not his courſe for a thouſand thouſand generations; I counted a million of ages, and yet there appeared not an hour wherein darkneſs had poſſeſſed the abyſs of matter, or wherein the endleſs firmament was not illuminated by the moon and ſtars. Whilſt I conſidered theſe things, a liquor was given me to drink by an unknown hand; it was of the colour of amber: when I had taſted it, I felt a marvellous force in my body, and my eyes were more piercing than an eagle's. Another wind, more powerful than the former, blew out of a cloud, and carried me up to an exceeding high place, far above the talleſt mountains; there I trod in the ſoft air, as on a pavement of marble. I was raviſhed at theſe things, and the exaltation of my ſtate made me forget my mortality. I beheld the earth at a vaſt diſtance under my feet, as one that did not belong to it; it looked like a ſhining globe, not much unlike the moon, but far bigger. All the living generations which had ſucceſſively inhabited the earth from its nativity, paſſed by me, and they appeared in various forms; firſt came a race of centaurs, then of ſatyrs, next of angels, and laſt of men. While I marvelled at theſe things, a voice reached my ears, as from behind me, ſaying, Theſe are the four ages of the world, and the four ſpecies of beings, to whom I gave the poſſeſſion

of the earth; but for the impiety of the three former, I have exterminated them; and when men shall have completed the measure of their sins, I will cause the trumpet to sound, and all things shall retire into the cave of silence and darkness. Having heard this, I found myself in a moment on the earth, which I had before seen afar off; then I knew that I had been in a trance," &c.

I do not rehearse this vision to teach thee any new thing, venerable president of the southern sages (for I know the archives of thy college are replenished with all manner of excellent treatises, and that thou art no stranger to the writings of the prophets), but to crave thy interpretation of so great a mystery, and to reason with thee about the world's duration. My satisfaction would be small, in contemplating the various beauties of the universe, the qualities of the elements, the natures of living things, the virtues of plants and minerals, with the force of the heavenly bodies, were I assured that these things were not always so. That thought would damp my greatest enjoyments, if I were convinced, that so many splendours, riches, and pleasures, as this visible frame affords, were not disclosed for millions of ages, but lay hid in the bosom of eternity. Methinks, it is too low an opinion of the omnipotent goodness, and looks as if the authors of it suspected God of envy; who, when he might have made infinite myriads of creatures happy, in these visible emanations of his divinity, without either beginning or ending of time, yet, according to their doctrine, contented himself to let only a determinate number taste of his munificence for a few centuries of years. This is not suitable to the character of that infinite Being, the eternal source of all perfections.

What then is meant by thoſe four ages, and the four ſpecies of beings, which were ſhowed to the exalted of God in that holy viſion? Tell me, great light of Africk, is it repugnant to reaſon or faith, to believe, that the earth has been inhabited from eternity, ſince our holy doctors teach us, that it was peopled long before the creation of Adam? No muſſulman, that has ever gone the ſacred pilgrimage, but has viſited Mount Araffa, where Adam firſt ſaw Eve his wife; where he has been inſtructed in the hiſtory of that firſt father of mankind; and how, that before his time, the earth was inhabited by angels, who being commanded to adore Adam, refuſed it, and were turned to devils, being expelled from the earth. Thou knoweſt, moreover, that it is in the ſacred traditions, that God gave to Adam a wife, whoſe name was Alileth, but that ſhe being of the race of thoſe devils, refuſed to obey Adam; whence it came to paſs, that they lived in continual quarrels and enmity for the ſpace of five hundred years, till at length Alileth flew up into the air, and abandoned her huſband; of which, when Adam complained to God, he ſent three mighty angels in purſuit of her, commanding them to tell her, that if ſhe would return to her huſband, it ſhould go well with her, but if ſhe would not, an hundred of her children ſhould die every day. The angels followed her, and overtook her on the Red-ſea, where they threatened to drown her, unleſs ſhe would return to her huſband; but ſhe made excuſes, and told them, ſhe was created to deſtroy young children. Then the angels laid hands on her, when ſhe, to pacify them, ſwore by the bottom of hell, that whenſoever the names of them three ſhould be written on any ſchedule, that ſhe ſhould have no power to hurt the infants, they diſmiſſed her. After this, God compaſſionating Adam's ſolitude, gave him another wife, called Eve.

This tradition confirms the viſion of the prophet; and we need not doubt, that the earth was inhabited before Adam's time; and if that be granted, why might it not be peopled for millions of ages, as well as for the ſmalleſt term that ignorance or error may aſſign to its duration?

I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of the Jewiſh rabbis and Chriſtian doctors on this ſubject, men of abſtruſe learning and ſublime thoughts, yet I can find but a few who are emancipated from the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious education: They have been, from their infancy, prepoſſeſſed with a falſe notion of the works of God, believing them to be finite, both in extent of ſpace and time; they circumſcribe this viſible world within I know not what flaming circle, and believe the firſt matter itſelf to be but five days older than Adam, taking each of thoſe days for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, wherein the ſun finiſhes his diurnal circuit through the heavens. They conſider not, that, according to their own Bible, there was light and darkneſs, and conſequently day and night, before the ſun was created; but how long thoſe days and nights were, is not determined by Moſes; yet in another part of their Bible, it is ſaid, that a day with God is a thouſand years, and a thouſand years is a day; ſo that, according to this interpretation, Adam was not created till above five thouſand years after the beginning of the world. Yet when I bring this poſitive place of their own ſcripture againſt the Nazarene ſages, they ſhuffle it off with empty evaſions, and rather than believe the indefinite antiquity of the world, they contradict their own ſenſe and reaſon, invalidate the teſtimony of a prophet, deny their faith, and appear unmaſked infidels.

Both they and the Jews have corrupted the truth with many errors, and we muſt ſeek farther, for the original ſcience of nature. The illuminated of God have always

taught, that the earth was inhabited long before the appearance of Adam; and all the Eaſtern ſages believe a ſeries of generations to have dwelt on this globe for indeterminate ages.

I have a brother lately come from the Indies: He relates ſtrange things of certain books, which are only in the hands of the Bramins. They are written in a language which none underſtand but theſe prieſts, yet a language as copious as any other, and taught in their colleges by rule. Theſe books contain a hiſtory of the world, which, they ſay, is above thirty millions of years old. They divide the term of its duration into four ages; three of which, they ſay, are already paſt, and a good part of the fourth. Now I would fain know, who wrote theſe books, and at what time, and where this language was ſpoken. They call it the holy language, ſaying, that it was the firſt ſpoken on earth. It is ſtrange, that no hiſtory ſhould mention ſo divine a ſpeech. We have the chronology of the Latin and Greek, and can give an account when and where they were ſpoken, though they are now grown obſolete, and no otherwiſe to be learned but in the ſchools and academies. This argues the antiquity of the Bramins language and books, in regard they fall not within any other record, ſave their own, which ſays, they are as old as the world: For if this aſſertion were falſe, the impoſture would have been diſcovered as ſoon as broached, and the learned ſages of the Eaſt would quickly have diſproved ſo manifeſt a lie. There ſeems to me ſomething extraordinary in this pretenſion of theſe Indian philoſophers, and I would gladly be convinced of the truth. Methinks it is an illuſtrious idea of the divine perfections, when one conceives all this vaſt and endleſs concatenation of beings to flow from the eternal nature, as rays from the ſun; and that they can

no more be ſeparated from it, than thoſe beams can from that viſible fountain of light. It will not be difficult then to interpret the hiſtory of Moſes by this regiſter of the Bramins, and reconcile the ſix days of the one with the four ages of the other, ſince a day, in the divine ſenſe, may amount to millions of years, as well as to a thouſand. And it will be more congruous and agreeable to believe, that after the birth of the firſt matter, there elapſed many ages, before it was wrought into ſuch an infinite variety of appearances as we now behold; and that the five days which Moſes computes before the production of Adam, might be ſome millions of years, in which time the divine Architect gradually drew from the abyſs of matter, the ſun, moon, ſtars, plants, and animals; which may ſerve alſo to illuſtrate the viſion of the holy anceſtor, with which I began this diſcourſe.

Adieu, ſublime intelligence of the torrid zone, and favour Mahmut with a tranſcript of thy thoughts concerning theſe things. But if thy ſilence ſhall condemn my preſumptions and importunity, I will wait for thy anſwer till the Platonic year, when, according to the doctrine of that philoſopher, we ſhall all be alive again.

Paris, 19th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XIV.—*To the* MUFTI.

IN a former diſpatch to thy ſanctity, I have acquainted thee with the inſurrections in Palermo, mentioning the fear of the viceroy, leſt the French in that iſland ſhould then take their opportunity to revenge the proverbial cruelty of the Sicilian Veſpers. If thou art unacquainted with that tragedy, I will inform thee in brief.

About three hundred and threeſcore years ago, there reigned in Sicily one of the royal blood of France, they call him Charles of Anjou. He had French garriſons in all the cities of that kingdom; but theſe ſoldiers committed ſo many inſolencies as rendered them odious and inſupportable to the natives, who therefore reſolved to exterminate them.

The French are very licentious in their conqueſts, neither ſparing men in their anger, nor women in their luſt; they make no difference between the noble and the vulgar, but ſacrifice all the regards of honour and civility to their impetuous appetites.

They were guilty of innumerable rapes and violences in Sicily, among the meaner people, and ſometimes extended their rudeneſs to perſons of the beſt quality. It was common for them to affront both virgins and matrons as they went along the ſtreets, by thruſting their hands under their garments, under pretence of ſearching for hidden arms. Among the reſt, the wife of a certain lord in Palermo, going to pay her devotions at the temple, was ſeized by the command of the captain of the guards, and ſtripped naked before all the ſoldiers, in order to diſcover certain treaſonable papers, which they ſuſpected ſhe carried about her; but finding none, ſhe upbraided the captain with inhumanity in offering ſo groſs an affront to a lady of her rank: He, ſeeming to be ſorry for the indignity ſhe had received, begged her pardon, and retiring with his ſoldiers out of the room where ſhe was, left her to put on her apparel. In the mean while, he was enflamed with a furious paſſion for this lady (ſhe being very beautiful), and having ſent the ſoldiers away, he returned to the room where ſhe was: He addreſſed her with much courtſhip, but finding that ineffectual, he forced her.

When this was made known to her husband, he burned with desire of revenge; and, stirring up all the Sicilian nobles and people, it was privately agreed between them, that on a certain festival, when the bells should toll to even-song, all the Sicilians should take arms, and massacre the French throughout the island. This plot was carried so secretly, that before the French could get the least intimation of it, they were all murdered on the day appointed.

I forgot to acquaint thee in my last, with a villany which was discovered in the late tumults of Naples. As they were marching up and down the streets, burning the custom-houses, and the habitations of those who had been concerned in gathering the taxes, they entered the house of a certain notary, or public scribe of that city, who had been represented to them as a promoter of those unreasonable impositions: They seized on the man, and began to carry his goods out into the street, in order to be burnt; but as they were rummaging in an apartment which was toward the gardens, they heard a great shrieking, as of women affrighted; and perceiving the voice to proceed from within a wall in the room where they were, they searched about for a door to enter into that place, but finding none, they broke through the wall; where they found two women with their hair hanging down to their ancles, and their nails grown like the talons of an eagle. Inquiring of them how long they had been there, and on what occasion, the eldest of the women made this answer: "The master of this house is my own brother, who, when my father died, was entrusted by him to pay me six hundred ducats, which he bequeathed me as a legacy for my maintenance, my husband being dead; but my brother, instead of doing me this justice, immured both me and my daughter, whom you see here, between

theſe walls, where we have lived theſe ſeventeen years, being allowed by this cruel man no other food but bread and water."

The people, incenſed above meaſure at ſo barbarous a cruelty, hanged up the notary, and gave all his eſtate to this widow and her daughter; an exemplary piece of juſtice, performed by mutineers, which could not have been done by the law, the crime not reaching his life, though, in the ſenſe of all men, he merited death. This is another argument, that deſtiny had a hand in this inſurrection, and that Maſſaniello the fiſherman was the executioner of God.

I obey thee, ſovereign prelate, with an unconditional devotion, and revere the idea of thy ſanctity: Vouchſafe to pray for Mahmut, that whilſt he condemns the barbarous cruelties of the Nazarenes, he may not render himſelf inexcuſable, by doing any injuſtice himſelf.

Paris, 22d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XV.—*To the* KAIMACHAM.

THE Arabian proverb ſays, "There is more danger to be feared from one of the Coreis, than from a thouſand Bobecks." Thou knoweſt, both theſe were noble families in Mecca, and ſworn enemies of the meſſenger of God; but the latter, as their name imports, were too open in their councils to do any conſiderable execution againſt the holy one; whereas the former were always reſerved, and laying of ſecret trains.

Such is Cardinal Mazarini, the hidden enemy of the Ottoman empire. There ſeems to be an ambition in this great genius, equal to that of his predeceſſor Richlieu, who would be eſteemed the moſt eminent among men.

Nothing will ſatisfy this miniſter leſs than a ſubverſion of all the monarchies on earth, which appear obſtacles of that grandeur to which he deſigns to raiſe his maſter. Yet he attempts not this by open force, knowing that it is impracticable, but acts in the dark, ſtriving to undermine thoſe ſtates by intrigue, which he cannot ſubdue by arms. He has his agents in all the courts of Chriſtendom; and thou needeſt not ſtartle if I tell thee, there is ground to ſuſpect he is not without his creatures at the Sublime Porte. All Europe is ſenſible, that the late revolutions in Portugal and Catalonia, the inſurrections in Sicily and Naples, and the rebellion of the Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh, are in part owing to the policies of this miniſter; and I can tell thee more on that ſubject than is known to every one.

Oſmin the dwarf, who ſtill retains his good inclinations to the Sublime Porte, finds an unſuſpected acceſs to all the grandees, to whom the ſmallneſs of his bulk and ſtature affords no ſmall divertiſement. Beſides, they delight to poſe him with problems, in regard there is always ſomething ſo lucky, beſides the wit, in his anſwers, as either creates admiration or laughter. But their mirth would quickly be changed into other paſſions, were they ſenſible that their little buffoon is no other than a ſpy upon them: For Oſmin, having ſo many opportunities, lurks in corners, like a ſpider, undiſcovered, and unthought of; he creeps into their bed-chambers and cabinets, where he becomes privy to their greateſt ſecrets: If they ſhould catch him in any of his concealments, behind the hangings, or under a bed, it would only paſs for a frolic to give them diverſion; and he never wants for a repartee, or a jeſt, to bring himſelf off.

I have taught him a cypher, which he makes uſe of to tranſcribe any letters, or other papers of moment, with

characters for ſpeedy writing, which comprehend whole ſentences in a daſh or two of the pen.

It is but lately we have pitched on this method, and the firſt attempt Oſmin made, was in Cardinal Mazarini's cloſet, into which he ſlipped, under the ſkirt of a nobleman's cloak, who juſt then went in to ſpeak with the cardinal. This active dwarf, taking advantage of the nobleman's approach to the table, dexterouſly crept under the carpet which covered it, reaching down to the floor, where he lay unſeen till the cardinal was gone, and the cloſet locked up.

During the time of their conference, which was not very long, Oſmin heard the cardinal ſpeak theſe words to the lord: "One of the ſlaves of that baſſa (ſays he) is an Italian, whom I formerly entertained in my ſervice, and one in whom I confide; he was taken by the Turks at ſea, and as ſoon as he was ſold to this grandee, he acquainted me, in a letter, with his condition, imploring my aſſiſtance towards his ranſom. I promiſed to redeem him, on the conditions I have told you; and ſince that, he has not failed to perform them; his maſter having accepted the piſtols, and entered into the aſſociation; ſo that I hope in a little time to ſee that proud tyrannical race exterminated, the Tartars excluded from ſucceſſion, and the empire divided by the ſword of ſtrangers. Ragotſki is the only obſtacle; that prince is wavering, and we cannot truſt him. The baſſa of Aleppo, with thoſe of Sidon, Damaſcus, and Babylon, are ready to cover the fields of Aſia with their armies. If things were as ſecure on the ſide of Europe, the blow ſhould ſoon be given."

There paſſed ſome other diſcourſe between them, which Oſmin could not diſtinguiſh, in regard they removed to

the window, and ſpoke low; but this was enough to rouſe his curioſity, and put him on a farther inquiſition.

As ſoon as the room was void by their abſence, he came forth from his retirement, and fell to examining the papers which lay on the table, hoping to diſcover more of this plot; but he was diſappointed, and only met with a few letters from his agents in England; wherein, among other matters, they gave the cardinal an account that they had hunted the lion into the toils, paſt all hopes of an eſcape; by which, I ſuppoſe, they meant the Engliſh king, whom the rebels have confined to a certain caſtle in their poſſeſſion. Oſmin tranſcribed ſome of theſe letters, and brought them to me. A copy of one of them I here ſend thee encloſed; it was written from the council of the Iriſh rebels; by which thou mayeſt ſee, what a ſhare the cardinal has in abetting theſe traitors, elſe how could they demand of him the performance of the Queen Regent's promiſe to aſſiſt them with money and men?

There is one alſo, dated this preſent year, and ſubſcribed by Monſieur Bellieure, the French ambaſſador in England; but Oſmin had not time to tranſcribe that, being prevented by the cardinal's return, which made the dwarf ſnatch up his tools, and abſcond under the table; yet he remembered ſome of the contents of that letter, and told them me at his next viſit. The ambaſſador in that letter, informs the cardinal of a certain German prophet, who foretold, "That there ſhould be a great revolution in the goverment of England, and that one of the mightieſt of all the Eaſtern princes ſhould be depoſed this year, and murdered by his ſubjects." I pray Heaven, avert the omen from the ſeraglio! He acquaints this miniſter alſo, that he had ſucceeded in his negotiation with the officers of the rebels army. There were other obſcure paſſages

in the letter, which Oſmin has forgot; but theſe are ſufficient to demonſtrate how buſy the cardinal is, and what a hand he has in foreign affairs.

Another opportunity, I hope, will bring to light more of this miniſter's ſecrets. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XVI.—*To* Peseli Hali, *his Brother.*

The oftener I peruſe the journal of thy travels, the more I am delighted with it; for it is evident, that the countries through which thou haſt paſſed, have been as ſo many ſchools of wiſdom to thee, wherein thou haſt learned, even from men's vices, the way to perfection; much more from their virtues. Thou haſt found, that though men's natural diſpoſitions differ, as do the climates which afford them breath, yet they all agree in common frailties. There are alſo vices peculiar to certain countries; it were to be wiſhed they could be matched with as many national virtues. But human nature is a rank ſoil, more fertile in weeds than wholeſome products; yet there are gardens, as well as deſarts; and thou haſt obſerved ſome perſons, illuſtrious for their goodneſs, and the noble endowments of their minds.

I am extremely pleaſed with that rare example of generoſity which thou relateſt of an Indian merchant, who, not content to give alms to all that aſked him, or whom he knew to be poor, ſought daily occaſions to exerciſe his charity, hunted out the indigent and unfortunate, and wherever he diſcovered the lineaments of poverty in a man's face, or traced footſteps of it in his behaviour, he could not reſt till he had relieved his wants, and made him happy to his very wiſhes. I tell thee, poverty is a

hell upon earth, and he that has this curſe, anticipates the torments of the damned: It eclipſes the brighteſt virtues, and is the very ſepulchre of brave deſigns, depriving a man of the means to accompliſh what nature has fitted him for, and ſtifling the nobleſt thoughts in their embryo. How many illuſtrious ſouls may be ſaid to have been dead among the living, or buried alive in the obſcurity of their condition, whoſe perfections have rendered them the darlings of Providence, and companions of angels! yet the inſuperable penury of all things, has ranked them among the caſt-aways of the earth, in the eyes of men. To ſuch as theſe our divine lawgiver commands us to extend our charity, giving us certain characters and marks, by which we may diſtinguiſh them from the crowd of the unfortunate. And I like the Indian's bounty the better, in that he ſo exactly ſeems to comply with this precept of the Alcoran, generouſly preventing the requeſts of the indigent, and by an exceſs of benignity, courting them to accept of relief. In this he alſo verifies the Arabian proverb, which ſays, "He gives double, who gives unaſked."

Thou commendeſt the induſtry of the Chineſe, the advances they have made in arts and ſciences, which, thou concludeſt, is to be attributed to the force of their laws, which oblige the ſon to follow his father's trade, throughout all generations. In this I muſt diſſent; for it ſeems rather a curb than a ſpur to ingenuity, to be confined to employments for which a man may have an averſion; the ſon not ſeldom abhorring thoſe things wherein his parents took delight: Or, if not ſo, yet he may be caſt in a finer mould, have a more ſubtle invention, and conſequently be capable of making greater improvements in any trade of his own choice; ſince delight ſets an edge on the mind, gives vigour to the body, and adds wings to buſineſs. Be-

ſides, I do not think this to be ſo much thy own remark, as the inſinuation of ſome of that country, who are the moſt conceited people in the world; ever extolling their own policy, laws, and government, and impoſing them as a pattern to all other nations.

One thing I grant they boaſt of with a great deal of truth, that is, their antiquity and unmixed race; though, ſince the conqueſt the Tartars have made of that country, they are like to undergo the fate of other nations, and corrupt their genealogies with the blood of ſtrangers.

Thou cameſt away before that conqueſt was begun, or, perhaps, before it was talked of; and I can give thee but a very imperfect account of it. All the intelligence we have from that kingdom of late, comes in fragments; for the ſhips which bring this ſhattered news left China in an uproar and confuſion; only they aſſure us, that the Tartars had paſſed the celebrated wall which divides them from China; that they entered and ſubdued the Northern provinces, with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men; that very little reſiſtance was made againſt them, not even in Pekin itſelf, the capital ſeat of the Chineſe empire, which the uſurper Lycungz had abandoned to the conquerors, carrying away with him all the ineſtimable treaſures of the palace, and, retiring into one of the remote provinces, was never heard of afterwards; whence it was judged, that ſome of his own party had murdered him, partly for the ſake of his prodigious wealth, which they ſhared among them, and partly to revenge his treaſon againſt the emperor, and the innumerable calamities he had brought upon his country.

Before theſe merchants came away, the Cham of Tartary was proclaimed in Pekin, and crowned Emperor of China. They ſay, he was not above thirteen years old at that time, which was in the 12th moon of the year

1644; and that having ſent for the chief nobility of Tartary to Pequin, he made preparations to purſue his conqueſts.

This is the beſt account we yet have of the affairs of that empire; by which thou wilt eaſily be induced to be of my opinion, that the blood of the Chineſes will in time be mixed with that of ſtrangers.

We muſt not ſeek for the originals of any people in the country where they dwell. The moſt renowned kingdoms and empires in the world, had their firſt foundations laid by vagabonds and fugitives. Thou art not ignorant how vaſt an extent the ancient Roman empire had through Aſia, Africa, and Europe; yet that city, which was called the Miſtreſs of Nations, the Governeſs of the whole Earth, was firſt built by a handful of banditti, people who lived by pillage and robbery, the outlaws and ſcum of Italy, aſſembled together from divers parts, under the conduct of Romulus and Remus. Neither had that city proved any better than a ſepulchre to them and their deſigns, had they not, by a witty ſtratagem overreached the Sabine women, and ſo ſecured to themſelves a poſterity, who ſhould not only defend, but enlarge the dominions of their fathers: Yet theſe people, of ſo obſcure and confuſed an original, afterwards boaſted of the antiquity and noble deſcent of their families. No name more venerable, in ſucceeding ages, than that of a Roman.

To look no farther than the great and formidable empire of the Oſmans, we ſhall find it took its firſt riſe from colonies of tranſplanted Scythians; ſo that he who would have the genealogy of a Turk, muſt not look in the regiſters of Greece, where they now live, but muſt carry his ſearch beyond the mountain Caucaſus, examine the borders of Palus Mæotis, or hunt his pedigree out in Cherſoneſus. What revolutions have not happened in Aſia

and Afric, ſince the aſſumption of the meſſenger of God into paradiſe? Where ſhall we now find any remains of the ancient Saracens or Mamelukes? The mighty empire of the Ottomans has ſwallowed up all. Thus one nation expels another, and there is ſo general a mixture of foreign blood, made by the converſion of innumerable different nations to the muſſulman faith, that it is hard to know, whether our anceſtors were Scythians or Perſians, Jews or Grecians, whether they were of the mountains or the valleys, of the foreſts or the plains.

In this I will except my countrymen, the Arabians, and thoſe who ſeem to approach neareſt them in manner of life, the Tartars; the one dwelling in tents, the other in waggons; both in a moving poſture; both happy in this, that they are not confined to the rigours of a cold winter, nor the ſcorching heats of the ſummer, but change their ſoil and climate as the ſeaſon of the year varies; thus, ever ſecuring to themſelves, in all places, either a blooming flowery ſpring, or a moderate and fruitful autumn. Theſe were never ſubdued, nor expelled thoſe regions wherein they take delight, neither would they ever mix with ſtrangers: But the Chineſe would excel all the world, in the purity of their unmixed blood, were it not for the incurſions of their potent and victorious neighbours.

The French ſay, that theſe people had the uſe of guns and printing many hundreds of years before they were found out in Europe; but the Germans claim the honour of theſe inventions to themſelves.

Thou confirmeſt the opinion of the former, in telling me, thou haſt ſeen ſome of the cannon belonging to the city of Pequin, on which was engraven, in Chineſe characters, a regiſter of their age, which was above two thouſand years.

I had a great deal more to ſay, dear Peſteli, but the poſt calls on me to haſten; beſides an extreme dulneſs and languiſhing of my ſpirits, with which I have been perſecuted ever ſince this moon firſt ſhowed her creſcent; now ſhe is in the wane, and ſo I hope is my malady. The influence this planet ſeems to have on me, may make thee conclude me a lunatic: We are all ſo in one degree or other. There are not more apparent ſymptoms, that the flux and reflux of the ſea owes its original to the neighbourhood and motion of that planet, than that our conſtitutions vary according to its monthly appearances.

He that created the moon, and the conſtellations, not without reſpect to mankind, give us wiſdom which ſhall entitle us to a dominion over the ſtars.

Paris, 14th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XVII.—*To the* AGA *of the Janizaries.*

THE Duke of Chaſtillon arrived here ſix days ago from the army in Flanders, bringing news of a ſignal victory obtained by the young Prince of Conde, on the plains of Lens. This battle was fought on the 20th of the laſt moon, the French having entirely routed the Spaniards, killed three thouſand of them on the ſpot, taken ſix thouſand priſoners, with all their artillery and baggage; and, to crown the day, they have taken Lens alſo.

But though fortune thus favours their arms abroad, ſhe has mixed poiſon with their councils at home. All things here ſeem to portend a civil war; the parliament thwart the proceedings of the court, taking on them the power of the ancient Spartan Ephori; they will be controulers of the regal authority, ſuppreſſing the king's

edicts, calling his expences to account; and, pretending to reform the court, they play the pedagogues with their ſovereign. On the other ſide, Cardinal Mazarini, the Duke of Orleans, and other grandees, do their utmoſt endeavours to diſſolve the meetings of this ſenate: They perſuade the young king, that it is but a precarious reign, where the ſovereign muſt be curbed by his ſubjects: Thus they inſtil into his tender years, thoſe maxims by which they would have him rule when he comes of age.

There is a man in the parliament whom they call Monſieur Bruſſels, one of their great counſellors, a bitter enemy of Cardinal Mazarini, and therefore cried up by the people for a patriot: He is of a furious temper, and mean abilities; yet his noiſy zeal for the public liberty has faſtened to him the vulgar; he is become the ringleader of the ſeditious.

This man was ſeized as he returned from the chief temple, where Te Deum was ſung yeſterday, for the late victory in Flanders; and ſome are of opinion, that it was this happy news which emboldened the court to ſnatch from the people their darling, their idol, the man from whoſe courage they expect a redreſs of all their grievances. Indeed, one may ſay, it would ſeem ſafer for a traveller in the deſarts of Arabia, to tear from a lioneſs her young one; for the heads of the faction waited but for ſuch an opportunity to ſet all in a flame: And the ill ſucceſs of the court in this action, ſhows that it is dangerous to provoke the multitude; for preſently we were all in confuſion, the burgeſſes in arms, the ſhops ſhut up, the ſtreets chained, and all the avenues of the palace barricadoed; the rabble marched up and down the ſtreets, threatening deſtruction to Cardinal Mazarini, and all his party; the parliament were forced to become

the meſſengers of the people, to carry their petitions, or rather their commands, to the court, being threatened alſo, if they failed of ſucceſs; for they proteſted unanimouſly, that they would not lay down their arms, until the impriſoned counſellor was releaſed.

The queen appeared at firſt inexorable, and ſent theſe ſenators away with denial and ſcoffs, wiſhing them joy of their new honour, in being made the porters of the rabble; and the young monarch, incenſed to ſee his native royalty thus profaned by his ſubjects, bent his brows, and caſting a look, divided betwixt majeſty and diſdain, on the ſenators, uttered theſe words: "Sirs! Shall it always be a cuſtom thus to moleſt the minority of your kings? Or, do you think our tender years incapable of the common ſenſe of other mortals, that you preſume thus inſolently to invade our right? Accuſe not the multitude, nor make them an umbrage to your ſedition: I know the authors of theſe tumults, and ſhall find a time to make them feel the weight of my diſpleaſure. Think not that I wear this ſword only for ornament, (laying his hand fiercely on the hilt) or that the blood of my renowned anceſtors is grown degenerate, or turned to lees within my veins. Go, tell your factious comrades, there ſits this day upon the throne of France, a king, who, though he is young, yet has a ſpirit and memory which will outlaſt his pupilage." With that he commanded them out of his ſight.

Yet, notwithſtanding this, the people threatened to bring their darling away by force, if he were not releaſed in two hours.

There were above an hundred thouſand of them in arms, and it might have proved a dangerous inſurrection; but the queen, at the ſecond return of the ſenators, hearkening to the advice of Mazarini, and the Duke of Orleans,

and remembering the late dreadful effects of Maſſaniello's tumult in Naples, releaſed the priſoner, who was conducted home laſt night in triumph, by an infinite crowd of people, who filled the air with ſhouts and acclamations.

It is diſcourſed here, that the Prince of Conde will ſpeedily return to Paris, from whom both the court and the faction promiſe themſelves new grounds of triumph.

During theſe commotions, Mahmut fails not to act his part, being at no ſmall expence to maintain a certain number of ſtrangers, whoſe whole dependence is on me: Theſe I inſtruct to mix themſelves with the rabble, to inſinuate into them hateful notions of Cardinal Mazarini and the court: They buzz up and down the city like flies in this hot ſeaſon, and ſting the multitude to fury with their ſtories. I ſpare no coſt to procure the cardinal's ruin: That pernicious wit comes not ſhort of his predeceſſor Richlieu, being as active in embroiling foreign ſtates; witneſs the revolutions of Portugal, Catalonia, England, and Naples, (in all which he had a principal hand) and is ever projecting how to aggrandize his maſter. And the univerſal ſucceſs of the French arms in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, has left him nothing worth a thought, but the deſtruction of the Oſman empire.

Eliachim brings me news every hour how my myrmidons ſucceed; for he acts abroad in the ſtreets, while I keep my chamber, during the tumults, being of Demoſthenes's mind, who, when the Athenians were in an uproar, took ſanctuary in the temple of Pallas, and proſtrating himſelf before the altar of the goddeſs, uttered theſe words: "O Pallas, I fly to thee for protection; defend me from ignorance, envy, and inconſtancy; for

I love not the ſociety of the owl, the dragon, and the people."

Yet, whether in my chamber or abroad, be aſſured, illuſtrious preſect of the imperial city, that Mahmut divides his time between the vows he makes, and the ſervices he does for the Grand Signior.

Paris, 3d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XVIII.—*To* ACHMET BEIG.

THIS court is now in mourning for the death of Uladiſlaus, late king of Poland; whilſt the politicians are canvaſſing the next election. Thoſe who ſide with the Houſe of Auſtria favour the ſucceſſion of Prince Charles; but the French are for Caſimir, their former priſoner.

The Duke of Bavaria is alſo dead. They ſay he died of grief to ſee his country expoſed to the inſults of a victorious enemy; for all his forces were entirely defeated.

The Prince of Conde has taken Ipre in Flanders; and the Archduke of Auſtria has rendered himſelf maſter of Courtray, without drawing a ſword, or firing a gun: The Mareſchal de Rantzau has made an unhappy attempt to ſurpriſe Oſtend, a ſea-town in Flanders; for, carrying his forces by water, as ſoon as he had landed his men, a tempeſt aroſe, and drove all his ſhips out to ſea; ſo that, being encompaſſed by a numerous army of his enemies, and having no way to eſcape, he and all his troops were made priſoners.

From the ſea we have advice that there has been a combat between the Duke of Richlieu, commander of the naval forces ſent to aſſiſt the Neapolitan revolters, and Don John of Auſtria, admiral of the Spaniſh fleet on that coaſt; but the iſſue of the battle is not yet known,

though moſt people gueſs the victory to be on the French ſide, in regard Cardinal Mazarini had, by the advice of an Indian ſhip-wright, cauſed all the French ſhips to be plaſtered over with alum, ſo that no fire-ſhips can hurt them. The Spaniards make great uſe of theſe fire-ſhips in all their ſea-fights, having learned to their coſt, from the Engliſh, what damage theſe veſſels do, when they formerly loſt their whole Armada, which they before termed Invincible, and with which they ſailed to conquer that iſland.

From Catalonia the poſts bring news which pleaſes the wives and friends of the ſoldiers in thoſe parts; for the Mareſchal de Schomberg has cut in pieces the Spaniſh army, taken Tortoſa by aſſault, where the ſoldiers found a booty of above fifteen hundred thouſand livres.

A courier is come from Swedeland, who brings an account of a late formidable conſpiracy in Ruſſia againſt the life of the Czar. The greateſt part of the Muſcovite grandees were concerned in this plot, deſigning to change the form of government, and divide that mighty empire into ſeveral principalities, whereof every one of the conſpirators ſhould have a ſhare; and that they ſhould be all ſubject to one chief, who ſhould be elected by the reſt, after the manner of Germany. To this purpoſe they had made a private treaty with the Tartars. Moroſoph, the prime miniſter of ſtate, and the Chancellor Nazari, were of the conſpiracy. Perhaps thou wilt lament the fate of the latter, having received extraordinary civilities from him when thou wert at that court.

Bananoph, ſon of the patriarch of Moſco, revealed the plot, with the names of the conſpirators, to the Grand Duke, who ſent for them next day to his palace, under divers pretences, where he commanded them all to

be killed, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs in the ſtreets of that city.

The French report ſtrange things of Sultan Ibrahim: I wiſh all go well at the ſublime Porte. If thou haſt the ſame deſires, reveal them to none but thy friend; for at ſome times a man's beſt thoughts will be interpreted for treaſon. Adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the year 1648.

---

## XIX.—*To the* Mufti.

Thy venerable letters are come ſafe to my hands, bringing light and conſolation to the faithful exile. With profoundeſt reverence I kiſſed and unfolded the papers which contain the ſacred inſtructions of the vicar of God: I bleſſed myſelf when I read the charge of royal enormities, the exorbitant paſſions of a muſſulman emperor, and the profanation of the throne founded on juſtice. Thou haſt prevented the qualms of a too ſcrupulous loyalty, by aſſuring me, that it is a fundamental maxim of our law, "That all men in the world, without reſpect of birth or quality, are obliged to appear before the juſtice of God; and that he who obeys not the law is no muſſulman; and if the emperor himſelf be in this number, he ought to be depoſed forthwith."

This has abundantly ſatisfied my conſcience, coming from the hands of him from whoſe ſentence there can be no appeal on earth. I ſhall therefore readily obey thy orders, and, without demur, put in execution what thou haſt commanded me.

Who can blame the juſt indignation of Sultan Morat's widow, who, in defence of her chaſtity, threatened to

ſheath her poniard in the breaſt of her ſovereign? But, incomparably more eminent was thy daughter's virtue, who, not being able to reſiſt the force of the mighty raviſher, after ſhe was polluted, would, like another Lucretia, have ſtabbed herſelf, had ſhe not been prevented by the ſultan. How has he ſullied the glory of the Oſman race by theſe effeminate vices? What an indignity has he committed againſt our holy law? againſt the principal patriarch of the elect? Much more noble was the continence of the African Scipio, who, when at the conqueſt of New Carthage, a virgin of admirable beauty was choſen from among the captives, and preſented to him, would by no means defile her, but reſtored her again without blemiſh to her parents, ſaying withal to thoſe that ſtood near him, "Were I a private man I would gratify my paſſion by the enjoyment of this lovely maid; but it becomes not the leader of an army to give ſo bad an example, nor a conqueror to yield his heart to the charms of his captive."

But it ſeems that Sultan Ibrahim was rather ambitious of the character of Auguſtus the Roman emperor, of whom it is ſaid, that he never ſpared any woman in his luſt; but if he caſt his eye on a beautiful lady, though her huſband were of the firſt quality in the empire, he would immediately ſend his officers to bring her to him, by fair means or by force.

The philoſopher Athenodorus, who was very intimate with this monarch, took a pretty method to reform this vice in his maſter; for when the emperor one day had ſent a cloſe ſedan or chair for a certain noble woman of the houſe of the Camilli, the philoſopher, fearing ſome diſaſter might enſue, (for that family was very popular and highly reſpected in Rome), he goes before to the lady's palace, and acquainting her with it, ſhe complain-

ed to her huſband of the indignity that was offered her. He, boiling with anger, threatened to ſtab the meſſengers of the emperor when they came; but the prudent philoſopher appeaſed them both, and only deſired a ſuit of the lady's apparel, which was granted him: He ſoon put it on, and, hiding his ſword under his robes, entered the ſedan, perſonating the lady. The meſſengers, who knew no other, carried him away to the emperor: He, heightened with deſire, made haſte to open the ſedan himſelf, when Athenodorus, ſuddenly drawing his ſword, leaped forth upon him, ſaying, "Thus mighteſt thou have been murdered: Wilt thou never quit the vice which is attended with ſo much danger? Jealouſy and revenge might have ſubſtituted an aſſaſſin thus diſguiſed in my room; but I took care of thy life; henceforth take warning." The emperor, pleaſed with the philoſopher's ſtratagem, gave him ten talents of gold, thanking him for this ſeaſonable correction; and from that time began to reſtrain unlawful pleaſures, applying himſelf to a virtuous life.

Thou ſeeſt, holy prelate, that by peruſing the hiſtories of the ancients, a man may furniſh himſelf with uſeful examples, and proper obſervations. I always keep by me Plutarch's Works, and thoſe of Livy, a Roman hiſtorian; as alſo Tacitus, who has left the annals of that formidable empire to poſterity. It were a deſirable thing, that the muſſulman ſcribes were employed in tranſlating ſuch records as theſe into the Arabic or Turkiſh languages; that ſo the true faithful, who are deſtined by God to conquer the world, may not be ignorant of the memorable tranſactions of former ages. Some of our ſultans have been curious to have Plutarch's writings rendered in the familiar ſpeech of the Ottomans: There are other memoirs not leſs worth the labour. If it ſhall enter into thy heart to encourage ſo profitable a work, the

whole empire of the reſigned to God will be indebted to thee. But who am I that preſume to direct the great father of the faithful? Thou art enlightened with all knowledge and wiſdom. Peradventure thou haſt reaſons to divert thee from ſuch an enterpriſe, which I cannot comprehend. Therefore I cover my mouth with duſt, and acquieſce.

As to the late revolution, I am not to diſpute the will of my ſuperiors. However, I receive the news of that tragedy with leſs diſcontent, in regard thou thyſelf, who art the oracle of the muſſulmans, haſt thought fit to depoſe Sultan Ibrahim, uſing herein the advice and conſent of his own mother, and of Mahmut Baſſa, with that of the Janizar Aga, who, next to thyſelf, are two the moſt knowing ſages in the empire.

What remains, but that I ſhall pray for the long life of Sultan Mahomet? deſiring alſo, that Heaven may ſo direct his councils, that he may never do any thing to merit the fate of his unhappy father.

Paris, 13th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1648.

---

## XX.—*To* Chiurgi Muhammel, *Baſſa.*

At length the deputies of the Nazarene princes at Munſter have concluded a peace: They have been theſe ſix years debating about trifles and punctilios, as is the manner of the Chriſtians even in the moſt important affairs. This treaty was ſigned the 24th of the laſt moon, when all farther hoſtilities ceaſed on all ſides, except on the parts of France and Spain, whoſe quarrel could by no means be adjuſted in this general agreement of Chriſtendom.

Thou haſt by this time heard of the late tumults and emotions in this city, the diſaffection between the Court and Parliament, with the ſhort ſiege of Paris. Now things ſeem to be compoſed, and in a calm; but it may only prove a truce, while both parties take breath, to ruſh upon each other with the greater violence. The city is unmeaſurably rich and populous, and can arm an hundred thouſand men at an hour's warning; the parliament abets their quarrel: This encourages them to vie with the court: The merchants live like petty kings; abundance of gold fills them with pride and ambition: Whilſt the court in the mean time are cloſe and reſerved, projecting how to deſtroy the faction, and aſſert the regal authority. The queen-regent is reſolute and ſevere, yet ſuffers herſelf to be mollified with the milder counſels of Cardinal Mazarini and the Duke of Orleans.

In the beginning of this reign, I gave an account to the miniſters of the Porte, of the Duke of Beaufort's impriſonment in the Caſtle of the Wood of Vincienpes, which is one of the king's palaces: This prince is now eſcaped from his confinement, and come into the city. The factious cry him up for a patriot, and are reſolved to protect him with their lives and fortunes.

If thou yet retaineſt thy health and vigour, thou art happy: As for me, I feel continual decays; yet am not troubled, perceiving, at the ſame time, that I approach nearer to immortality; wherefore I neither ſeek reſtoratives, nor conſult phyſicians, but, ſuffering myſelf to diſſolve gradually, I die with pleaſure, pluming and preparing myſelf daily, as one ready to take wing for a more happy region.

Paris, 24th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1648.

## XXI.—*To* Dgnet Oglou.

I am not ſurpriſed at the news of Sultan Ibrahim's being depoſed and ſtrangled: It is but what I have for a long time feared: Theſe reſtleſs janizaries will ruin the Ottoman empire. Neither am I ſtartled to hear that his mother was acceſſary to his fall, having a double motive, ambition and revenge, to induce her conſent. She always affected to rule, and therefore could not brook the ſultan's reſolute management of affairs, without following her advice. Beſides, ſhe could not eaſily forget her diſgrace and confinement on the account of the Armenian lady's death.

But I am aſtoniſhed and vexed to hear, that the muſti ſhould be concerned in ſo black a tragedy. How ſhall we have the confidence hereafter to reproach the Chriſtians with their frequent treaſons and murdering of their kings, ſince it will be eaſy for them to retort, that the ſupreme patriarch of our law has entered into the ſecret of rebels, conſpired the death of his ſovereign, and cauſed him to be depoſed and ſtrangled?

As for the aga of the janizaries, I ſuppoſe him rather overawed into the conſpiracy, by the forcible reaſons and elegant parole of the muſti, than any ways voluntarily engaging himſelf in crimes, to which he ſeems to have no inclination. Beſides, he could not refuſe to make one in the party, after it had once been propoſed to him, unleſs he were reſolved to be the firſt victim of their jealouſy, and be murdered himſelf, to prevent the diſcovery of the reſt. Yet his duty and honour ought to have ſuperſeded all other conſiderations; and he ſhould have choſen to die in his allegiance, rather than to live ſtained with ſo foul a crime.

However it be, I cannot approve their treaſon; for, whatever the vices of the ſultan were, they had no right to puniſh him: He was accountable to none but God; and they invaded the prerogative of Heaven, in dethroning him, whom the divine providence had inveſted with the imperial diadem.

Much leſs can I approve their impiety, in defaming him now he is dead: Neither can I in conſcience comply with the injunctions of the mufti, who has commanded me, in a letter, to ſpread an ill character of Sultan Ibrahim among the Chriſtians, that ſo his own proceedings may appear juſt. It is true, I owe much to the authority of this ſovereign guide of true believers; yet I muſt not, to pay this debt, turn bankrupt of my reaſon: I owe ſomething to myſelf, and to the diſtinguiſhing character of a man. I promiſed him, indeed, to obey his commands in this point; but he that has given me a diſpenſation for all the lies and perjuries I ſhall be guilty of in Paris, will, I hope, pardon me, if I turn my own confeſſor, and abſolve myſelf for not performing my word to him in this point.

I am not often guilty of aſperſing the living, but I abhor to injure the dead, leſt I ſhould incur the fate of him, who, being at enmity with a famous wreſtler, purſued him with malice and revenge, even in his grave; for, envying the honour that was due to this wreſtler's memory, in that his ſtatue was ſet up in a public place, he went privately one night, with deſign to throw the ſtatue down; but after he had ſpitefully diſfigured it in ſeveral parts with a hammer, and was buſy in working its overthrow, the image on a ſudden fell on him, and cruſhed him to death; as if the ſpirit of him whom it repreſented had given it this fall, to revenge the malice of his adverſary.

Certainly the ancients were not ignorant what they ſaid, when, among other ſage counſels, they adviſed mortals, "Not to ſpeak ill of the dead, but to eſteem them ſacred, who are gone into the immortal ſtate." And Plato's ring had this motto on it, "It is eaſier to provoke the dead, than to pacify them when once provoked;" intimating thereby, that the ſouls of the departed are ſenſible of the injuries that are done them by the living.

Therefore I will ſhun detraction, eſpecially of the dead; and, if I cannot ſay much in praiſe of Sultan Ibrahim's virtues, let his vices be buried with him in eternal oblivion.

I run no hazards in writing thus frankly to thee, being aſſured of thy fidelity. Beſides, death (which is the worſt puniſhment can be inflicted on me for what I have ſaid, ſhould it be known), would not be bitter, when given by a friend. Dear Dgnet, adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 1ſt Moon, of the Year 1649.

---

## XXII.—*To* Danecmar Kesrou, *Kadileſquer of Romania.*

When I informed thee how the Scots had ſold their king to the Engliſh rebels, it was eaſy to preſage the conſequence without a revelation. When ſovereign monarchs become the merchandiſe of factions, they commonly pay the price with their own blood; and there are few examples of princes that have been impriſoned by their ſubjects, and yet have eſcaped a violent death; for thoſe who have once advanced ſo far in their treaſon, as to ſeize the perſon of their ſovereign, can never retire

with safety to themselves, or at least their own guilt makes them think so. The consciousness of what they have already done prompts them to proceed in their wickedness; and their despair of saving their own lives makes them conclude it necessary to take away his, whose violated majesty, they fear, will never pardon so impudent an essay of treason.

But the method which the English have taken to murder their king has not a precedent in history: These infidels have outstripped all former traitors, in the contrivance and execution of their regicide; they have even surpassed themselves, and their own first designs.

It has been usual for traitors to take away the life of a deposed monarch privately, by poison or assassin, either in respect to his royal blood, or to avoid the possibility of a rescue from any of his loyal friends and subjects; but these barbarians were resolved publicly to insult on majesty, to brave the whole world in the execution of their villany, and make a pompous conclusion of their treasons; for they erected a new divan, or court of judicature, composed of the most infamous traitors; there they formally tried their sovereign by a law of their own making, condemned him as a tyrant and a traitor, and, finally, caused his head to be chopped off with an axe, by an executioner, before the gates of his own palace, in the sight of thousands of his subjects, that so they might appear, not so much to kill their king, as to destroy the monarchy itself, and triumph in its ruin.

Hast thou, O venerable judge of the faithful! ever read or heard of such a daring treason? All Europe startles at the monstrous fact; and Cardinal Mazarini himself, who carried on that private web of factious design in England, whose first threads his predecessor Richlieu had spun, yet expressed an horror at the news of this

tragedy; and I look not on this to be an artifice of policy in him to blind the world, but a real diſcovery of his ſentiments; for he is too generous to approve ſo barbarous a proceeding againſt a ſovereign monarch, though his enemy.

The other day he was heard to ſay, "That in revenge of the king's murder, he would embarraſs the councils of the Engliſh rebels more than he had done thoſe of their ſovereign."

This was not ſpoken ſo ſecretly, but Mahmut had intelligence of it within an hour; for I have more ears in Paris than thoſe in my head to hearken after the intrigues of this miniſter, and it will be difficult for him hereafter to ſpeak, write, or act any thing, no, not even in his private cloſet, which will not be diſcloſed to me.

Yet, though I thus watch his motions as an enemy, and do my utmoſt to render his deſigns againſt the Ottoman Porte ineffectual, I cannot in my heart condemn this miniſter, who all the while acts but the part of a faithful ſervant, and an able ſtateſman, in ſtriving to aggrandiſe his maſter.

His ſupporting alſo the factions in England, and nouriſhing the diſcontents of that giddy-headed people, were but the reſult of his zeal for his country, and for the church, whereof he is one of the principal pillars; it being evident from his grief at that king's murder, that he bore no malice againſt him, but only ſought to humble him into terms of compliance with France.

When I ſay this, I ſuppoſe the cardinal's ſorrow on that account to be free from fiction; but who knows when the actions of ſtateſmen are undiſguiſed, and when not? For I am well aſſured, that whilſt his agents were buſy in embroiling that nation, he promiſed the exiled Engliſh queen to aſſiſt her huſband with men and money againſt

thoſe very rebels with whom he held a private correſpondence, and to whom his coffers were really open.

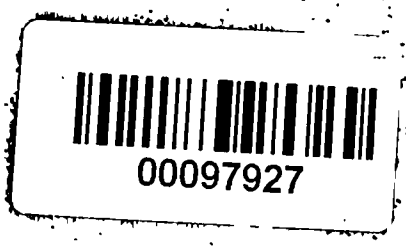
Moſt of the European ſtateſmen are corrupted with the maxims of a certain famous writer, whom they call Machiavel. This ſtate caſuiſt has taught them to boggle at no crimes which may advance the ends they aim at; every thing, in his opinion, being honeſt that is ſucceſsful. Thus, policy among the Nazarenes is degenerated into ſordid craft; and that which was once deſervedly eſteemed a virtue, neceſſary to the governments of the world, is now turned into a vice, of which the very outlaws, freebooters, and pirates, are aſhamed.

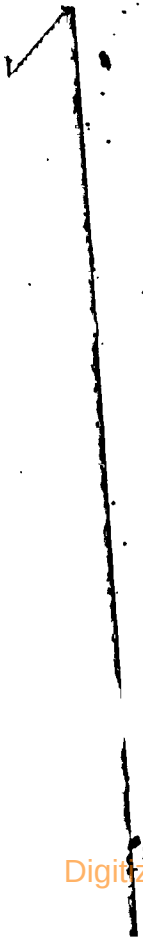
God, who ſuffered the earth to be inhabited by angels, for an infinite number of ages before he created Adam; and then expelling them hence for their wickedneſs, and turning them to devils, gave this globe for a dwelling-place to men, grant, that the enormous crimes of mortals may not provoke him to exterminate our human race, and reſtore the devils to their ancient habitations.

Paris, 12th of the 2d Moon, of the year 1649.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

Printed by MUNDELL & SON,
Royal Bank Cloſe, Edinburgh.


00097927



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016